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FRANCISCO PALOU'S

LIFE AND APOSTOLIC LABORS
OF THE
Venerable Father Junípero Serra

FOUNDER OF THE FRANCISCAN MISSIONS
OF CALIFORNIA

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY
GEORGE WHARTON JAMES
AUTHOR OF "IN AND OUT OF THE OLD MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA,"
"THE FRANCISCAN MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA,"
"MODERN MISSION ARCHITECTURE," ETC.

English Translation by C. Scott Williams

1913
GEORGE WHARTON JAMES
PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

F864
S52

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BY
EDITH E. FARNSWORTH

DEDICATION

To five men whose generosity has aided me in publishing this
Translation of Palou's Life of Junípero Serra
namely

ELI P. CLARK
and
MOSES H. SHERMAN
The builders of the First Electric Railway over some of the roads
trodden by the Sainted Serra

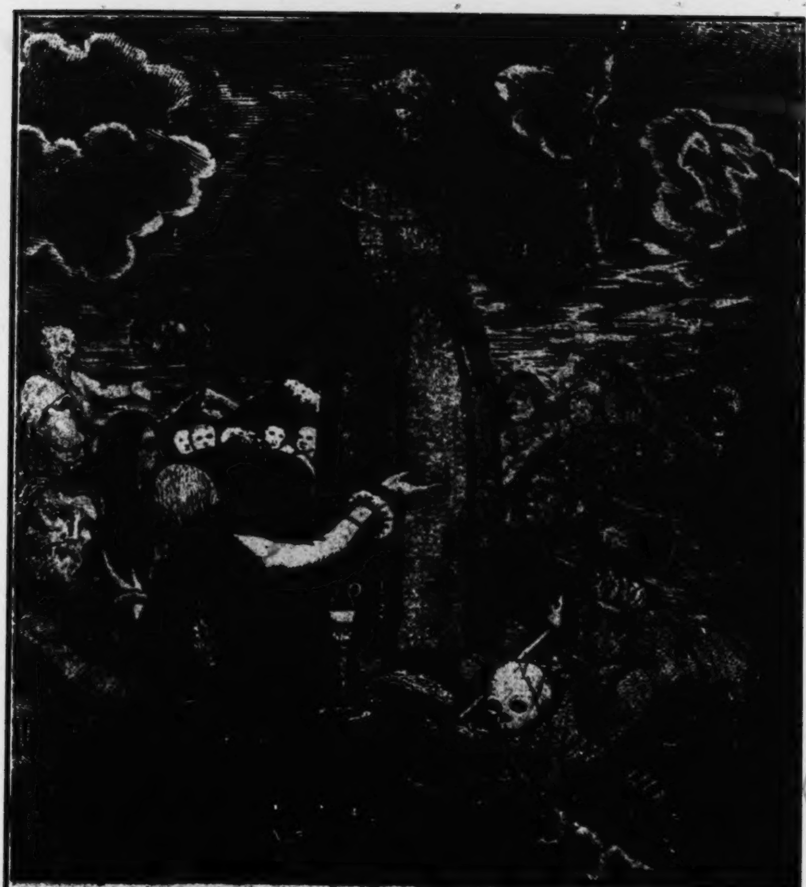
ARTHUR T. LETTS
President of the Los Angeles Y. M. C. A.

JAMES D. PHELAN
Ex-Mayor of San Francisco, and whose monument to Serra in
the Golden Gate Park is but one of his many gifts
to the "City of Destiny"

and to

FRANK A. MILLER
The Master of the Glenwood Mission Inn, Raiser of the "Serra
Cross" on the summit of Mount Rubidoux, Riverside,
and, though of alien faith, the devout admirer of Junípero Serra and his work

I cordially dedicate this book, with highest esteem.



V. R. DEL V. P. F. JUNIPERO SERRA

[illegible]

(Photographic Copy from the Original Edition.)

Exact copy of original title page to Palou's Life of Serra.
Translation on opposite page.

RELACION HISTORICA
DE LA VIDA
Y APOSTOLICAS TAREAS
DEL VENERABLE PADRE
FRAY JUNIPERO SERRA,

Y de las Misiones que fundó en la California Septentrional, y nuevos establecimientos de Monterey.

ESCRITA

Por el R. P. L. Fr. FRANCISCO PALOU,
Guardian actual del Colegio Apostólico de S.
Fernando de México, y Discipulo del
Venerable Fundador:

DIRIGIDA

A SU SANTA PROVINCIA
DE LA REGULAR OBSERVANCIA
DE Nrô. S. P. S. FRANCISCO
DE LA ISLA DE MALLORCA.

A EXPENSAS
DE DON MIGUEL GONZALEZ CALDERON
SINDICO DE DICHO APOSTOLICO COLEGIO.

Impresa en México, en la Imprenta de Don Felipe de Zúñiga
y Ontiveros, calle del Espíritu Santo, año de 1787.

Historical Account of the Life and Apostolic Labors

of the

Venerable Father Fr. Junípero Serra

and of the

Missions which He Founded in Northern California, and the New Establishments of Monterey

Written by

The Rev. Lector Fray Francisco Palou

Guardian of the Apostolic College of San Fernando, Mexico,
and Disciple of Its Venerable Founder

A Work Addressed to the Holy Province of the Regular Observance of Our Holy Father Saint Francis, of the Island of Mallorca.

Published at the expense of Don Miguel Gonzalez Calderón,
Trustee of said Apostolic College.

Printed in Mexico, at the Office of Don Felipe de Zuñiga y Ontiveros,
Espiritu Santo Street, in the Year 1787.

MONUMENT TO JUNÍPERO SERRA, IN GOLDEN GATE PARK, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. THE GIFT OF FORMER MAYOR, JAMES D. PHELAN

Introduction to the English Translation

By George Wharton James

Though Palou's "Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Fray Junípero Serra" is the first work dealing with the history of Alta California; and though it was originally published in the City of Mexico in 1787, it has never yet been translated for English readers. A few chapters, with snatches here and there from the original, were done into English and issued by the Reverend Father Adam, Vicar General of the Diocese of Monterey and Los Angeles, in the year 1890, but its inadequacy was an irritant and a source of annoyance.

Does it require any lengthened argument to show that such a lack in the literature of the Golden State does not recommend us to the good opinion of outsiders? To have the very first book upon which our knowledge of the history of the state depends inaccessible to all save a few Spanish scholars reveals a lack of state pride and self-respect and a personal indifference that are unbecoming a great state and its progressive people. This would be so even were the character of the "history-maker" one that neither commanded veneration or respect. But when, as in the case of so noble and Godlike a man as Padre Junípero Serra, people of all classes, parties, and religious beliefs acclaim him one of the noblest, purest, most self-sacrificing, devoted, humble, Apostolic and Christlike of men, the careless indifference of the educators, religious leaders and teachers, and scholars of the State borders upon the reprehensible.

It seems peculiarly appropriate, therefore, that in this year of our Lord 1913, two hundred years after this His Devoted Servant, Junípero Serra, first saw the light, that a translation of his Life and Labors should be published. For thirty years I have waited, hoping that some competent pen would undertake the work. Father Zephyrin Englehardt, the Official Historian of the Franciscan Order in California, was the man who most properly should have done it, as his great familiarity both with the Spanish language and with the life of his fellow-Franciscan,— whose memory and Apostolic labors he reveres,— eminently fitted him for the task. But his exhaustive studies and work upon the monumental history of the "Missions and Missionaries of California," Lower as well as Upper, not yet being completed, he was compelled to forego the pleasure.

When the following pages were ready for the press, I learned that the Reverend Mestres, pastor of the parish of Monterey, where Father Serra lived, worked and died, had just begun a translation. It was evident that it could not be completed in time to be issued in the bi-centennial year, hence it was decided to proceed with this publication, Father Mestres resolving to devote himself to some other work to perpetuate his predecessor's blessed memory.

It should clearly be understood that I am not the translator of the work. It was done by Professor C. Scott Williams, of Los Angeles. It makes no pretense to scholarship, yet its general accuracy may be relied upon. It is free, but takes no liberties with the text, and as I personally supervised the work, I can promise that the spirit of the original is closely followed.

To guard against inaccuracies of statement in regard to the Catholic Church, points of doctrine, or matters pertaining to the Franciscan Order, Father Englehardt generously and graciously went over the manuscript, so that faithful sons and daughters of the Church may read it with confidence and satisfaction.

In the few notes, placed for convenience in an Appendix, there is no attempt to do more than make all points in the text intelligible. The translations from the Latin are made by a devout son of Ignatius Loyola, now residing in what remains of the Mission of Santa Clara, so often referred to in Palou's narrative.

My own devotion and veneration for Padre Serra are well-enough known to render their redeclaration unnecessary, yet I am constrained to affirm that there are few "Lives" that so stir my heart to devotion to God and earnest endeavors to work for the uplift of my needy fellows as does this recital of the simple, unselfish and self-sacrificing Life of Junípero Serra. God needs thousands more of such men; struggling mankind needs them; California needs them; the world needs them. They are sadly rare. We gaze upon too few of them. If this translation inspires one heart, masculine or feminine, to become another Apostle of Humanity, flinging itself into the needful work of the uplift of the California of to-day with the glorious abandon, exuberant enthusiasm, unquenchable zeal, and fervent devotion displayed by Junípero Serra, my own heart will be abundantly satisfied.

George Wharton James

1098 N. Raymond Ave.,
Pasadena, California.

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TRANSLATION OF
FRANCISCO PALOU'S
LIFE OF PADRE JUNÍPERO SERRA

Dedicatory Letter and Protest of the Author

Addressed to the Most Observant Province of Mallorca.
In the name of Jesus, Mary and Joseph:
To the Very Reverend Father and Minister of the Province, and to the other Reverend Fathers and Reverend Brethren:

BEING desirous of perpetuating in the minds of all the Venerable and Reverend Fathers as well as of the future sons of this Holy Province, my revered Mother, the memory of the Apostolic Labors of my venerated Father, Teacher and Lector, Fr. Junípero Serra, illustrious Son, so well known and esteemed by this his sacred Mother, I take up my pen in order to make a record of his most conspicuous deeds and of his unwearying zeal: deeds which naturally and rightly with rich fruitage return again to their source, as do the waters of the lucid stream or of the mighty river to the glorious fountain-head from which their copious and life-giving waters had burst forth, to replenish by their healthful overflow the lives of remote peoples and widely extended lands.

This holy and most religious Province has been blessed in the producing, first in the preceding century the distinguished Founder of the Apostolic Institute in both old and new Spain, that distinguished son, ecstatic man, sonorous Clarion of the Gospel whose echoes have resounded in admirable harmony in both worlds, our venerated Father and Founder, Fr. Antonio Linaz: and second, in the middle of the present century a disciple for the College of San Fernando of Mexico, and a member of the same Apostolic institute for the propagation of the Faith, Father Junípero Serra, Founder of ten Missions in this peninsula of the Californias and who left in project others which for lack of laborers in the Gospel could not be properly founded. If this sacred Province had but known how to produce a grove of such "juniper" trees, there would not have remained by now, in all that wide region of pagan people, a single heathen of savage life, but all would have been civilized and converted to our Holy Catholic Faith.

And in truth of such holy ardor were the desires of this seraphic and Apostolic Junípero that neither the serious and constant illness which befell him, nor the distress of his continuous and lengthy journeys, nor the hardships and roughness of the roads, nor the lack of necessary food, nor the savagery of the untamed and fierce inhabitants were able to detain the course of his Apostolic efforts. At the cost of immense fatigue he caused the day of the true religion to dawn on as many nations as were the number of the Missions which he founded, and which alone in this new region of California reach the number of nine, all of them alive and flourishing in the very center of heathenism, far remote from Catholic lands, and having for their nearest neighbor another Mission 150 leagues distant, and all these surrounded by unbelievers. Here our revered Father caused the clarion note of the Gospel to resound on every side and he lived to see, in these nine Missions alone, the conversion of five thousand, eight hundred and eight gentiles who were baptized either by himself or his companions, who, without fearing the wickedness of the infernal Jezebel, worked unwearingly under the shadow of this leafy "Juniper," helping him to deliver these souls from the slavery of the Prince of Darkness.

Besides, the venerable Father, exercising the special privilege granted him by our most Holy Father, Clement XIV, himself confirmed and administered the Sacrament (including Spanish and Indian neophytes of the new inhabitants) to five thousand, three hundred and seven, reaping all this spiritual fruitage at the cost of continuous traveling by land and sea, for if the curious reader will but make the computation he will find that from the time Father Junípero left the Apostolic College of San Fernando for these Californias, he spent more than a half year in navigation, and by land walked over twenty thousand fifty leagues, in addition to the journeys made in New Spain and in the trips taken among the heathen Pames of the Sierra Gorda, as well as in the trips made in his preaching tours among the faithful where he converted innumerable sinners, awakening them by his fervent spirit from the heavy slumber of guilt and showing them the way of virtue.

All these Apostolic labors are glorious trophies of this sacred Province to whose disciples I address myself, and I bring them hither in this narrative not in order that they may glory in them but rather that they may serve as a monument to the burning zeal of this distinguished Brother and so inspire in the future her most fervent sons to follow in his glorious footsteps and continue these arduous and important conquests, as well as further to promote these spiritual discoveries, until there shall not remain in all this immense region (the most northernly of New Spain and entirely inhabited by heathen) a single unbeliever who has not been illumined by the rays of our Catholic Religion and in order that, the darkness having been driven from that land, the Gospel light may shine upon all.

It was under the impulse of such vivid desires that my revered Father Junípero finished his life and his laborious and Apostolic career. Three days before he died, when the two of us were speaking of how the commission which had been sent to Spain to make collections had been delayed and on account of which and the lack of laborers the projected founding of two missions, to be called "La Purísima Concepción" and "Santa Bárbara," had not been carried out, I said to him that perhaps the delay was due to the fact that no one of those of the "religious" was willing to come. When he heard these words he broke out with a great sigh from his fervent heart and said: "If the friars of our Holy Province who were acquainted with the late Father Fr. Juan Crespi could see what he wrought and the great fruit he was enabled to gather, very many of them would be encouraged to come. If they were but to read his diaries it would be enough to move not a few of them to the point of leaving fatherland and convent and undertake the journey in order to have a part in this vineyard of the Lord."

These desires, which I heard from the lips of my beloved Fr. Lector a few days before his exemplary death, were brought again to my memory a little later and I took it on myself to bring about their fulfillment by sending to the Holy Province the originals of those very diaries of Father Crespi. And when I found among the papers of Father Lector Junípero the diary which he had himself written on the outbound journey of our Expedition for the purpose of exploring this new land and of lending a hand toward its Spiritual Conquest, I intended also to remit them, considering that they would contribute no less toward the object for which the diaries of Father Crespi were being sent; but afterwards, considering that the reader would be very curious to know what was the outcome of those voyages and the fruit for which this great Laborer in the Vineyard had so intensely yearned, I resolved that I could best fulfill his desire by myself taking pen in hand and writing this Account. This I did only after a long struggle in which I overcame the feeling of my unworthiness and the fear that all I was saying was simply the effect of my deep passion for this beloved Disciple and Companion whom I had followed in nearly all his pilgrimages. It is true that since the year 1740 up to the year 1784, in which death separated us, I had enjoyed his very especial affection and that we had mutually loved each other more than do those who are brothers by the ties of blood. This friendship was not unknown to the said Holy Province and for a long time it served to hold back my pen.

I was finally led to a decision by the reading of the preface which Saint Gregory Nazianzen uses in introducing the funeral oration pronounced over his sister, the holy Saint Gorgonia: "Cum sororem laudo, admiror domestica: quae non ideo falsa sunt, quia domestica, sed vera, ac ideo laude digna: vera autem, quoniam non solum justa, sed et manifeste cognita . . . solum ea laudabimus, et ea tacebimus, quae laude, vel silentio digna erunt. Sane prae omnibus rebus est absurdissimum, ut propinqui laude priventur debita, etc."[1]

I was also helped to overcome my sense of inability by the reflection that I was going to write, not for the ear but for the heart, as Seneca counsels us. "Scribendum animo, non auribus."[2] My task reduced itself simply to the work of writing an account of the truth, which, as Saint Bernard has indicated, is not difficult but rather easy, because it is not necessary to cover it over with an artificial veil of colors. "Sermo: verae puritatis, vel purae veritatis debet esse, est facilis, nec artificioso colorum velamine debet opacari."[3]

And finally I considered that I was going to write this true account and send it to said Province, my Holy Mother, who as such would overlook its faults, and as a mother would see to it that the skill of her chronicler would cleanse it from its defects so that the reading of the same would not bring weariness instead of edification and tenderness. Having thus conquered all the difficulties which presented themselves for the purpose of deterring me, and animated by the united voice of my Companions, the Ministers and Missionaries who had labored under the guidance of the late Father, and his Companions also in the work of this Spiritual Conquest, and moved also by the sense of what I owe to my very dear Father, Teacher and Lector, Fr. Junípero Serra, and also by the sense of what I owe to this Holy Province, my venerated Mother, and wishing that she may not lack these edifying news of the Apostolic labors of the said Father, her beloved son, and the news also of the spiritual fruit which through them has been gathered for the Holy Church by increasing for her the number of her children as well as bringing under our most Catholic sovereign these vassals of his far reaching and distant dominions, I have resolved to undertake the following Narrative. But first of all, I beg that the reverend Fathers and Brethren will all read or hear read the following Protest.

PROTEST

As a true son of our Mother, the Holy Church, in obedience to the decrees of the Sacred General Inquisition, confirmed by Our Most Holy Father Urban VIII: I declare and affirm that in none of the things which I may say in the following Account of the V. F. Fr. Junípero Serra, and of the other Missionaries of whom I may make mention, do I pretend or intend that they should be given more credence than they may deserve as in a simply human history; nor that in the eulogizing of him as "the Venerable" or the use of other titles which I may give to this great Laborer in the Vineyard of the Lord; or which I may apply to other Missionaries whom I call Martyrs, because they have left the security of the Convent with no other purpose than to dedicate themselves to the conversion of the heathen and whom these same heathen cruelly slew, is it my intention that these epithets shall lift them any higher than that of all human honor, as accords with the style of prudent and devoted piety.

I do so protest, declare and affirm in this Mission of our Seraphic Father San Francisco, the most northerly of New California, in its port, on the twenty-eighth day of February of the year one thousand seven hundred eighty-five.

Fr. Francisco Palou.

Judgment of the Doctor and Master, Don Joseph Serruto, Prebendary and Dean of this Holy Metropolitan Church, etc.

Most Excellent Sir:

This Historic account which your Excellency has sent to me for my censure or approval, I find to be dictated by the mature judgment of the Rev. F. Guardian Fr. Francisco Palou, with ingenuousness, precision and timeliness, not only for the glory of that Apostolic man of whom he was treating, but that he may also serve as a model for those who may follow him, and as well for the edification of all who may read the work, as I do not find in any part of it anything offensive or opposed either to the Majesty of His royal person the King, or to the laws concerning publications. For this reason I deem that the work is worthy of being given to the public.

At my office on the 29th of November of the year 1786.

Joseph Serruto.

Opinion of the Rev. Fr. Dr. and Master, Don Juan Gregorio de Campos, Superior of the Congregation of the Oratory of San Felipe Neri, of this City of Mexico.

Very Rev. Vicar General:

In fulfillment of your Reverence's decree, I have examined with attention and also with pleasure the "Historic Account of the Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Fr. Junípero Serra, Apostolic Missionary of the College of the Propagation of the Faith, of this Capital City," written by the Rev. Father Fr. Francisco Palou, at present Guardian of the same Apostolic College. I had the pleasure of knowing and communicating with the Venerable Father, and indeed in his face and behavior there could be read the most exact obedience to the Seraphic Rule, the most continuous mortification of his spirit, the most humble wisdom, and an ardent zeal for the conversion of the heathen and the reform of Christians. This is also vividly stamped on all the steps he took, in all the countries he visited and in all the labors in which he suffered, in order to bring the light of the Gospel to a savage, numerous and distant heathendom. And after he had paid the common tribute, and death had put an end to his Apostolic career, it might be said that he has ceased to preach, to propagate the name of Christ and to convert the unbelievers; but we are persuaded to the contrary when we contemplate his labors and fatigues in those rough, unknown and dangerous roads, the efforts he made to instruct himself in the various dialects in order to please the Indians by gaining first their good will and later their understanding; the progress that Christianity made in those countries and the blessings which God showered upon them; when we contemplate, I say, all this, and when we read the detailed accounts of his preaching, of the number of fervent friars of the provinces of Spain and of the Indies and also the number of the secular priesthood who will feel themselves moved, by the odor of these perfumes from his life, to follow his laborious example and employ themselves in this high and worthy ministry. So we may say that it is his mouth and tongue that through these preaches and will preach, even after his circumstantiated, foreseen and peculiar death; and Father Junípero will continue to preach not only to the unbelievers, but to the very preachers themselves, to those who by the marvelous happenings of his life will find a prepared, approved and successful method of converting those souls.

And how thankful should those be who were formerly unbelievers and are such no longer, as well as those were of the truly faithful, to the Rev. Father Palou, who has been so solicitous in carefully preparing this monument which he leaves of the precious life of his beloved Teacher, in order that his pen may be the organ through which sound forth the Apostolic tones without confusion or discord in all that he has written, because the writer is so careful to observe all the laws of the historian and is faithful to his clear and simple style, and at the same time attractive and beautiful, using always pure expressions, a natural order, an uncorruptible veracity. This the reader will acknowledge beyond all doubt, no matter how indifferent he may be, or even if he be opposed to the whole matter. In view of all this, this work not only does not contain anything opposed to our Holy Faith and to good custom, but it is most worthy to be given to the public, in order properly to honor the memory of this Servant of God, in order to satisfy the desires of his devoted disciple, in order to stimulate the fervor of other laborers, in order to testify to the zeal of our Monarch in the propagation of the Catholic Faith, and in order to glorify God.

The chief House of the Oratory of Mexico, November 23, 1786.

DR. AND MASTER, JUAN GREGORIO CAMPOS.

LETTER AND OPINION which are sent to the author by the Rev. FF. Fr. Francisco García Figueroa, formerly Provincial of the Holy Province of the Holy Gospel and Father of the Province of Havana and of that of Yucatán, Lector Emeritus and Official of the Holy Office; and also Fr. Manuel Camino, Lector Emeritus, and Ex-Definitor of the Sacred Province of the Holy Gospel, Official of the Holy Office, and both of them of the Convent of the Recollection of Saint Cosmas.

To the Rev. Father Guardian of the Apostolic College of San Fernando,
Fr. Francisco Palou:

We thank you for your confidence and at the same time for the pleasure caused by the reading of the manuscript which contains the Life and the great virtues of the Reverend Father, the Venerable Fr. Junípero Serra, Apostolic Missionary and son of your Holy College. Your careful judgment has led you to submit the same to our inspection in order that we might say whether in our opinion, speaking ingenuously, it was worthy of being printed, having in mind its argument, its diction and composition. The Seraphic Order is a most abundant cloud of Grace, so that when it does not rain down saints, it allows to trickle down here and there, and at different times, most exemplary men who have been worthy sons of our Seraphic Saint Francis and partaking of his spirit. Thus it is that we daily see fulfilled the promise which our Lord made when he said that there would never lack in our Order perfect men.

One of these, and among those few, in comparison, in our religion, is the Reverend and Venerable Father Fr. Junípero, as is shown by his admirable virtues. It is these which your reverence proposes to publish for the edification of the public and the comfort of the pious and for the encouragement of those Apostolic Missionaries who will especially find in this perfect Missionary a model and powerful inducement to continue their arduous tasks for the sake of saving souls. We wish we all might know the preciousness and excellence of his work, for besides the edification of all that would grow out of it, the friars themselves, with a larger appreciation of what they are themselves doing, will be inspired more and more to imitate this Apostolic model which you have presented to them. For, indeed, with what may we compare, or what praise or appreciation may reach the merit of these men who, ordinarily observing within the cloister walls of their college an austere religious life, busy continually with the divine services, with confessions, and many other sacred offices, find their recreation in going out, like the life-giving rays of the sun, to sanctify with their Missions all of northern America? For, in fact, they have converted the sinners of entire towns, without there being a single one who could escape from their zeal, their diligence and effort being so great that even the supremest obstinacy had to yield to the thunder and lightning of the voice of the Missions, so that it seemed as though God himself spoke through them and added His own effort in bringing about the conversions. We see this in the fact that many of those who had resisted grace for so many years, after first showing unequivocal signs of true pain and repentance, were admitted to absolution with much confidence and consolation.

And if the sufferings were so great in the work of the conversion of the believers, what must have been the fatigues endured in reducing to Christianity the untamed Indian barbarians, lacking in every element of civilization and almost without the mind to reason? Only those can understand who have had experience in the afflictions and the multitude of hardships which of necessity accompany so arduous a task and among such a people. We can only wonder at the zeal with which they endured the labor, especially when we remember how very many of these people were converted and how the Missions have almost multiplied daily.

For all these reasons the work of Your Reverence appears to us to be most timely, especially as, in the Life of the Venerable Father Junípero which you give us, we have so very recent and so well known a model. Men of this sort have a certain efficiency and power which easily excite others to imitate them, partly because men are naturally prone to follow after novelties and partly because they have to overcome a certain almost imperceptible prejudice which leads us to think that things naturally, in the course of time, lose their original virtues so that it seems quite impossible that the last group of workers should reach the high degree of perfection which characterized the first. The deeds of the Rev. Fr. Junípero have set at naught such an unwarrantable inference. And so it remains for us to most sincerely thank you on our part, as indeed all should do, for having undertaken this task, which must have been a burden to you at a time when you were entitled very justly to rest from your labors. Your Paternity has indeed moistened your brow with sweat as you have labored for many years in the tasks of the Apostolic Mission, and it was right that you should have enjoyed the quiet and retirement of your cell, or at least that you should not add new burdens to your unbroken years of service. But your zeal has recognized no difficulties, nor has stopped at the call of time, or of labor. Your work, besides being very useful, as we have said, is well planned and prepared and for that reason it seems to us that it should be published. You may therefore lay aside any fears on that score. May God keep you many years.

Convent of the Recollection of Saint Cosmas, March 12, 1787.

Your affectionate Brothers and Servants,

Fr. Francisco García Figueroa.

Fr. Manuel Camino.

LICENSE FROM THE VICEROYAL GOVERNMENT

The Royal Audiencia governing this New Spain, having noted the opinion which precedes, emitted by the Doctor and Master Don Joseph Serruto, Prebendary and Dean of this Holy Metropolitan, has granted the license to print this book of the "Historical Account of the Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Fr. Junípero Serra," by its decree of the seventh of December of the year 1786.

LICENSE OF THE ORDINARY

Doctor Don Miguel Primo de Rivera, Prebendary of this Sacred Metropolitan Church, Judge, and Vicar General of this Archbishopric, etc., having noted the Opinion of the Rev. Doctor and Master Don Juan Gregorio de Campos, Superior of the Congregation of the Oratorio of San Felipe Neri of this City, has granted the license for the printing of this "Historical Account of the Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Fr. Junípero Serra," by its decree of the 24th of November of 1786.

Prologue

Indulgent Reader:

ON taking up this volume, which contains an account of the Life of the Venerable Father Fray Junípero Serra, you may suppose (following the criticism of the present day) that you will encounter here the style of a Bossuet or of a Bishop of Nimes, but if you read first, as one naturally should, the Dedication, you will know that this work was not written with the intention of giving it to the public, but simply as an edifying letter, a plain Account which I wished to present to my holy Province of Mallorca, of the Virtues and Apostolic Labors of the above mentioned Venerable Father, in the hope that the Chronicler of the Order might polish and perfect it, and adapt it to his Chronicles, to the end that it might serve to inspire the zeal of other laborers for the vineyard of the Lord.

But when the word came to the ears of some of the devoted men of the Order, men who had known and dealt with the Venerable Father, they insisted that I should publish what I had written, offering to defray the expense of printing, as indeed they have done. At first I demurred, but afterwards reflecting that this history, if widely read in this New Spain might move some of the Friars of the Order to enlist in the task of conquering new territories and in gaining souls for God, I finally consented. The only reason for my reluctance was that I am very well aware of the defects of the work as well as of my own lack of ability, and also in view of the fact that I wrote it among the heathen surroundings of the Port of San Francisco, in that new

Mission, the most northerly of New California, where I had no access to books or the society of learned men whom I might have consulted. For all this I pray you to pardon and overlook its faults.

In spite of all I have said, I know very well that some of those who read of new adventures desire that the historian seek out strange ideas and that he go stumbling along over mistakes and through thorny arguments. This method, although in profane history it is allowed and even applauded, is reputed as a vice by more sensible historians when applied to the biographies of the saints and servants of God which are written for the edification of the mind and in order to stimulate unto like effort. I have, therefore, striven to avoid that fault.

As the very heart of all history is the unvarnished truth, the reader may console himself with the fact that almost all I relate has come under my personal observation, and if not, it has been told me by the Missionary Fathers, my companions, who are all worthy of being believed.

To conclude, I do not forget that neither Homer among the poets, Demosthenes among the orators, nor Aristotle nor Solon among the wise, were free from error; for although they were eminently great as poets, orators and philosophers, they were still men. The limitations of our nature are ever humiliating. While those who write do not cease to be men, there will always be those who watch for their faults. Please bear in mind thine own weakness and have compassion upon mine. Farewell.

Historic Account of the Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Fray Junípero Serra

OF the Regular Observance of Our Holy Father St. Francis, of the Province of Mallorca; Doctor and formerly Professor of Sacred Theology in the University of Raymond Lull of the same Island; Commissioner of the Holy Office in all New Spain and the adjacent Islands, Preacher Apostolic of the College of Missionaries Apostolic for the Propagation of the Faith, President and Founder of the Missions and of the new establishments of New and Northern California and of Monterey.

CHAPTER I

Birth, Native Land and Parents of the V. Father Junípero; He Takes the Holy Habit; His Activities in the Province before He Thought of Setting out for America.

THE indefatigable laborer in the Vineyard of the Lord, the Venerable Father Junípero Serra, began his laborious life on the 24th of November, of the year 1713. He was born at one in the morning, in the village of Petra, on the Island of Mallorca. His parents were Antonio Serra and Margarita Ferrer, humble laborers, honest, devout and of model habits. As if they had been well aware of the great work which he was to accomplish in his time, in the baptizing of the heathen, these devout parents made a special effort to have their son baptized on the very day of his birth. They gave him the name of Miguel Joseph. He retained the same at his confirmation, which he received on the 26th of May, of the year 1715, in the parish church of the same village in which he had been baptized.

His pious parents instructed him from his infancy in the rudiments of the faith and in the holy fear of God, inclining him, from the time he was able to walk, to attend frequently the church and convent of San

Bernardino, which that holy Province had in the village. The boy's father was well liked by the friars and whenever he took his son Miguel with him to the Convent, the boy won the affection of all. Here is where he learned Latin, in which he soon became very proficient, and at the same time he became skilled in plain chanting, through the custom which the Convent Master of Grammar had, of taking his pupils to the choir on feast days to help sing with the members of the community. From this holy exercise and from the pious conversations which he heard from the good Fathers, there was born in his heart a very earnest desire, even at an early age, to take on himself the holy vows of our Holy Father St. Francis. His regret was that he was far too young for the step.

When his parents realized the holy vocation of the lad, as soon as he was old enough, they took him to the City of Palma, capital of that district, in order that he might devote himself to the higher studies. In order that he should not forget the teaching and the wholesome customs he had been taught as a child, they commended him to a devout priest, a beneficiary of the cathedral, who, when he saw the diligence of the boy in his study of Philosophy, which he had begun to study in the convent of Our Father St. Francis, and his vocation for the monastic Order, he taught him to recite the Divine Office, making him say the prayer with him daily, and leaving him free the rest of the time for his studies.

Before he had been in the city long, his desire for the cowl was greatly increased by being presented to our very Reverend Father Fr. Antonio Perelló, Minister Provincial for the second time of this same Province, and to whom he made known his desire for the habit. The latter delayed for a while, considering that he was quite too young, but on learning that he had the required age, although the fact that he had been rather sickly had prevented his growth, he gave his consent and he was allowed to take the habit in the convent of Jesus, outside the walls of the city, on the 14th of September of the year 1730, when he was at the age of sixteen years, nine months and twenty-one days. During his first year as a Novice he progressed in the exercise of the virtues, applying himself to becoming proficient in all that belongs to our Seraphic Rule and in all her precepts, in order that when the time came for him to make his profession, he would have a perfect knowledge of all the many things he would be required to vow before God. In order to encourage himself for this task, he used to read in the ascetic and pious books of the great things which God and Our Holy Father St. Francis have promised us, if we hold steadfast to the things we promise in making the profession.

The books which he read oftenest, and which most attracted his attention, were the chronicles of our Seraphic Order. He delighted himself with the lives of those holy and venerable men, as set forth in the chronicles, reading their lives with such attention and tenderness that each one seemed impressed upon his memory, so that he used to repeat the story of their lives and deeds as if he had but just read them. All of us who used to hear him tell these stories were astonished at the beauty of them. Whenever he heard of the beatification of any one of these Venerables, his heart would be filled with joy and he would repeat the story of his life with as much accuracy as if he had but just read the chronicle.

Out of this devout exercise of the reading of the lives of the Saints, there was born in the heart of the young novice the most earnest desire to imitate them in as far as it would be possible. This reading had the same effect upon him that it had had on St. Ignatius of Loyola, and the principal thing which came out of the reading was the vehement desire to imitate these holy and venerable men who had been employed in the conversion of souls, principally those of pagan and barbarous peoples. His desire went so far as to make him long to give his life and to shed his blood, as indeed many of them had done. This I heard from his own lips, for when the Venerable Father was telling me of his call to leave his native land and come to the Indies, he said, with great tenderness of heart and with tears in his eyes: "My principal motive has been to revive in my heart those great desires which I had as a novice when reading the lives of the Saints, desires which were somewhat deadened by the distractions of my studies. But let us give many thanks to God because my wishes are beginning to be fulfilled, and let us ask that it be for His greater glory and for the conversion of souls."

When the year of probation had been finished he made his profession in the convent of Jesus on the 15th of September of 1731, taking the name of "Junípero" because of the devotion he had for that saintly companion of Our Holy Father St. Francis,[4] whose holy phrases and graces he delighted in, and which he used to repeat with devotion and tenderness. So very great was the joy and the happiness which his profession caused him that in all his life he never forgot it; but rather he renewed his vows and profession every year not only on the day of Our Holy Father St. Francis, but also whenever he assisted in the receiving of any novice. And, also, whenever he remembered these great joys and was led to speak of them, he would break out with the expression: "*Venerunt mihi omnia bona pariter cum illa*": All good things came to me with the coming of this. He used to say: "When I was a novice I was always sickly and very small of body, so small I could not reach the choir rack, nor could I help my companions in the little labors of our service, and for that reason the Master of Novices employed me to serve at all the saying of Masses; but after making the vows I began to grow in strength and health and succeeded in reaching a medium stature. All this I attribute to my profession, for which I ever give thanks to God."

As soon as our Fr. Junípero had made his profession, he was removed to the principal convent of the city in order to take a course in philosophy and theology. In such a way did he progress that before he had been ordained priest, or even had had time for his ordination, the Province named him Lector of philosophy for the same convent, where he lectured for three years with great applause, having at one time as many as sixty pupils, of religious[5] and seculars, and although not all of them followed out the course, the most of them continued for the three years, and many of the seculars already graduated under said faculty finished by obtaining from the Lullian University the degree of Doctor. Before finishing his year of philosophy, the Rev. Fr. Junípero obtained the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology from the same University. Here he continued to occupy the chair of the Subtle Master until his departure from the Province, and in it he did his work with great fame as a man of profound learning to the satisfaction both of his Province as well as of the University. While in the faculty he saw many of his disciples graduated as doctors.

The constant occupations of a literary professorship did not hinder him from being the instrument of the Holy Spirit, and he was much called upon for panegyrical sermons upon principal themes and at the great feasts. These duties he always fulfilled in such a way that he received the applause of all, even the most learned who heard him. The last panegyric he preached was one requested by the University at the solemn feast of the 25th of January, in honor of its patron and compatriot, the illustrious doctor, the Blessed Raymond Lull. The University attended the function in full regalia as did also the most learned men of the city. As his Reverence thought it would be his last public speech (as indeed it was in his own country), it seems that he spared nothing of his ability in his endeavor to bring credit to his Province, and of course all were astonished. When the sermon was ended, I happened to hear one of the former professors of the city, a man of much fame both as a teacher and as a pulpit orator, and not at all partial to the young preacher, use this expression: "*This sermon is worthy of being printed in letters of gold.*" But the orator was far from desirous of receiving such honorable mention. He only thought how he might go out and employ his talents in the conversion of the heathen. He had been for a long time waiting that he might have his license and which at that time he thought might very soon be granted, as we shall see later.

No less was the credit he received for his sermons on morals. He was sought for by the principal villages and asked to come to preach during Lent and every year he was busy in this way, leaving a substitute to occupy his chair. He used to go out at Lent and preach to sinners with such fervent zeal, with such great skill and attractiveness, using that sonorous voice with which God had endowed him with such effectiveness, that sinners were awakened from the heavy slumber of sin and converted to God in spite of their mortal enemy.

This was abundantly proved by an incident which happened in the town of Selva. He was preaching during Lent in this town in the year 1747, and one day, while in the middle of one of his most fervent sermons, a woman in the audience stood up. She was obsessed (as the rector or curate of the place afterwards found out) and so, confronting the earnest Father with her face full of fury, in a very loud voice she called out so that all could hear: "*Yell away, yell away, but you will not live to see the end of Lent.*" The preacher was so far from relaxing in his zeal or in giving credit to the words of the demon, or of the demoniac woman, that he seemed confident that the contrary would happen. For taking occasion to write to me in those days he added this clause to his letter: "Thanks to God, I am in good health and even so I expect to finish the Lenten season, because the Father of Lies has published it abroad that I shall not live through these days, and as he does not know how to tell the truth, I expect to come through all right and in good health." And so it happened. When he returned to the convent I asked him what he meant and he told me this story.

CHAPTER II

He is Called of God to be a Teacher to the Pagans. He Asks for a Patent to the Indies and Obtains It. He Embarks for Cadiz and what Happened to Him on the Way.

AT this time in which the Reverend Father Lector Fr. Junípero was enjoying the highest esteem and applause, both from friars and others, and when it might be expected that the corresponding honors would come to him as a matter of merit, the voice of God came to him, calling him to be a teacher of the pagans, touching his heart and leading him to leave his native land, his parents, and his holy Province, in order to employ his talents in the conversion of the pagans who, for lack of some one to show them the way to heaven, were perishing. He was not unmindful of this secret voice of the Lord which lighted in his heart the fire of love for his fellow men and gave birth in him to the most vivid desire to shed his blood, if necessary, in order to secure the salvation of the miserable gentiles, and reviving in his heart those desires which he had felt when a novice, which had been deadened somewhat by the distraction of his studies. As soon as he felt anew the call he took the matter to God in prayer, using for intercessors his Immaculate Mother, and San Francisco Solano, Apostle of the Indies, asking them if it were God's will, that He would touch the heart of some one who might share with him the task and accompany him upon so long a voyage.

In spite of the fact that his Reverence kept this call a secret in his heart, God willed it that the R. F. Lector Fr. Rafael Verger, at that time a professor of philosophy and at present Bishop of Nuevo Leon, understood that a friar from the Province was anxious to go out to the Indies for the conversion of the pagans. He communicated the fact to me almost immediately because of the intimacy between us, although he did not say that he knew it for certain, but he inferred it from a rather vague remark which he had heard, and no names were mentioned; but, from the time that he had heard of the proposition, there had come into his heart the most ardent desire to do the same thing, and if he had not been tied down by his chair in the college he would offer to go. On several occasions both of us spoke of the matter and from that I became filled with the same strong desire.

We both made attempts to find out if it were true, as we had heard, and who the religious was, but we were not able to trace the matter, and while this was a good reason to think the rumor incorrect we both continued to cherish the same desire of going out to the Indies.

As I was more untrammeled than he and there would have been little difficulty on the part of the Province to my going out, I had almost resolved to present my application for license to go. I did not wish to take this step without having first consulted with my beloved teacher and Lector, Fr. Junípero Serra. One day when he happened to come to my cell and we were alone I improved the opportunity of communicating to him what I felt in my heart and asked him to give me his opinion. When he heard what I proposed, tears sprang to his eyes, not of sorrow, as I at first supposed, but of joy, and he said to me: "I am the one who is anxious to make this long journey, and my grief has been that there was no one to go with me as a companion upon so long a voyage, though, for that reason, I had not given up my purpose. I have just made two Novenas in honor of the Immaculate Conception of Mary Most Holy and San Francisco Solano, asking them to touch the heart of some one who might go with me if it be God's will, and I had just come here resolved to speak to you and invite you to go with me for the voyage, because from the moment that I myself reached a decision I have felt in my heart the greatest desire to speak to you and this has made me think that you might be persuaded to go. But in view of the fact that though I had kept the matter a secret in my heart the news came to you in the way which you tell me it did without your knowing who it was who planned to go, and also seeing that I had been asking God to touch some one's heart and that I had felt such a great drawing towards you, there can be no doubt but that this is the will of God. However, let us commend the matter to the Lord and do you do as I have done in the matter of the Novenas and let us both keep our secret."

So we did and when we had finished the Novenas we resolved to follow the call and to make the necessary applications for it.

I should have been ungrateful if I had concealed what I have just stated, because I confess that it was due to the prayers of my Reverend Father Junípero that I find myself among the Missionaries for the Propagation of the Faith, a happiness so great that in the opinion of the

Venerable Mother Ágreda it is more to be desired than that of the Blessed, as said lady, the servant of God, wrote to the Missionaries of my Seraphic Order, employed in the conversion of the heathen of the Custody of New Mexico, a copy of which letter I will put at the end of this volume if I have room, for it is quite efficient in stirring up the minds of all who may go out to work in the Vineyard of the Lord and does confirm and approve of the rules which we follow in our Missions. And it is also due to his example that all the other friars who have gone out from the Province to the Colleges have entered into this great joy; and the Province also owes it to him that it should have the example of its distinguished son, a man of fervent faith, who, after having converted innumerable pagans to our Holy Faith, shed his blood and with joy gave up his life in order that he might have a part in the conversion of still others. This martyrdom[6] brought glory and honor to his Holy Mother Province as did also the work of another of her sons[7] who was made Bishop of Nuevo Leon, bringing fame not only to his Province but to the whole Seraphic Religion; and it may be boasted that if our Province was deprived of a "Juniper" (Junípero) through his being transplanted to America, this same son of hers, through the fertility of his faith, has engendered and given to the Holy Church a whole grove of Junipers, all filled with apostolic zeal (as we shall see later) which redounds to the honor of the Province and of the Apostolic College of San Fernando, a garden to which his holy calling transplanted him, and made him a source of emulation, both to the one and to the other.

In the following out of this call, as soon as he found that he had a companion, he wrote to the Reverend Commissioners General of the Order and of the Indies, asking them for a license to go to America and to take part in the conversion of the pagans. The Commissioners replied to him, saying that his appointment was impossible because there were only two commissions in Spain,— one of the College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro and one of San Fernando in the city of Mexico, — and these two commissions had completed their work in Andalusia and were on the eve of embarking. However, he said he would bear our request in mind for the very first occasion, adding that it might be an obstacle in our way that we did not belong to the peninsula of Spain.

Not on this account did the fervent Father Junípero desist from his intention, nor did he grow lukewarm in regard to the divine call, but rather, he wrote again to the Commissioners begging them that if the fact that he was an islander presented a real difficulty, that he be permitted to enter into some one of the Colleges of the peninsula of Spain in order to overcome this obstacle. This was the situation when the Lenten Season of the year 1749 drew near in which the Rev. Father Junípero had been directed to preach in the parish of his native village of Petra. Carefully recommending the matter of our call to me and asking that it still be kept a secret, he departed for his destination.

Our Rev. Father Commissioner General of the Indies, Fr. Matias Velasco, did not forget our request, nor did he neglect any opportunity to sustain us in our desires. As soon as he received the first letter he sent it to the Commissioners of the two Colleges who were in Andalusia, charging them that if any of those who were appointed should fail that we should be kept in mind. The letter arrived very opportunely, for out of the thirty-three friars who had enlisted for the Missions of San Fernando, five had repented on account of their fear of the sea which they had never seen. For this reason room was made for us. As soon as the R. F. Fr. Pedro Perez de Mezquia, of the Province of Cantabria and Head of the Delegation for Collecting Volunteer Missionaries, learned this, he sent us a letter by ordinary post containing the two patents. These did not reach us and if we may believe what a certain religious of the above mentioned convent of Palma said to me, the patents were lost between the doorway and my cell.

When the Fr. Commissary of the Delegation saw that the two patents had not caused us to come, he sent two others by special envoy in order that they might not be lost. I received them on the 30th of March, just as I was going to the Blessing of the Palms, and as soon as we came out of the refectory (with the blessing and license of our Very Reverend Provincial) I started for the village of Petra and that same night delivered the patent into the hands of the Rev. Father Junípero. His joy and happiness was greater than if he had received a call to some bishopric. Immediately the next day we set about carrying out our plans for the voyage and also to keep it a secret; and as only a few days remained of the Lenten Season, he resolved to finish his preaching while I returned to the city in order to secure transportation. I did not find any ship going to Cadiz, but I did find an English packet-boat which directly after Easter would sail from Malaga. I arranged the passport with the Captain and sent word to the Rev. Father Junípero, who, after having preached his last sermon in the same parish church in which he had been baptized, and bidden good-bye to all his fellow-countrymen (although without saying anything about his voyage) he left on the third day of Easter Week for the convent of the city, but not till after he had visited his old parents and had said good-bye to them, receiving their blessing for the work that he was about to do, although he did not tell them what his determination was, as he wished to keep that secret.

On the 13th of April, which in that year was the *Dominica in Albis*,— Sunday after Easter,— he bade farewell to the Community of the principal convent, going out into the refectory to confess his faults, to ask pardon of all the friars, and to receive the blessing of the prelate, who was the same who had been his teacher in philosophy while a secular priest. When he saw this extraordinary call of his disciple and the great example which he was giving not only to the convent but to the whole Order, he was so touched that he could hardly speak and his farewell was limited to tears rather than to words. Before this scene the whole austere Community could not help being affected with great emotion, especially when they saw the Rev. Father Junípero go from one to another and kiss the feet of all the friars down to the most humble novice. When we had said good-bye to the Community we went down to the dock and embarked upon the packet-boat.

The captain of this vessel was an obstinate heretic and so quarrelsome that during the two weeks which the voyage lasted till we reached Malaga he did not leave us in peace, and it was with difficulty that we could recite the Divine Office because he continually wished to argue and dispute with us about dogmas. Although he did not know any other language than English and a little Portuguese (in which he could barely make himself understood), he presented in the latter his arguments and having in his hand a Bible which was translated into his native tongue, he used to read from it some text of the scripture which he interpreted as he pleased. But as our Fr. Junípero was so well instructed and grounded in dogmatics and holy Scripture, it was as easy for him to perceive the error as it was to cite the text which he had misinterpreted to sustain his opinion, and then he would quote another text which completely upset the man's arguments. The captain would read in his musty Bible and not finding any way of escape would reply that the leaf must be torn out and for that reason he could not find the verse. When another text was cited he would make the same answer. From all this, it could be well seen that he was left in confusion and ashamed, but he would never give up, but remained obstinate.

After this his irritation grew and reached such a pitch, especially against my Revered Fr. Junípero,— because it was he who had put him to rout,— that on several occasions he threatened to throw us into the sea and to sail away for London. I do not doubt that he would have done so had he not feared the result, for on one of these occasions I told him that I was not afraid, as we had come under the protection of the passport which he had signed, and that if he did not put us on shore at Malaga, our King would demand indemnity from the King of England and his head would pay for it. Notwithstanding this threat, one night he became so furious in a dispute which he had over dogmas with our Father Junípero that he came to the point of putting a dagger to his throat with every intention, as it appeared, of taking his life, and if he did not do it, it was because God had reserved for His servant a more prolonged martyrdom, and that he should have a part in the conversion of many souls, as we shall see later.

The captain threw himself upon his bed in order to relieve himself of the wrath which consumed him; and lest he should later carry out his intentions the Venerable Father agreed to awaken me, saying (and his voice seemed full of joy) that this was no time to sleep, for it might be that even before reaching Malaga we were to secure *the gold and the silver* in the search of which we were going to the Indies. He then told me what had happened and comforted himself by saying: "I can comfort myself by the thought that I never provoked him to conversation or to dispute, as it seemed to me that was time lost, but that in conscience it was my duty to make a reply for the credit of our Catholic Religion." We spent the night watching, taking such precautions as we could for what might happen, he encouraging my lukewarmness and cowardice by his own ardent zeal. But that perverse heretic restrained his anger and during the rest of the voyage was not so troublesome as before.

After two weeks of sea voyage we arrived at Malaga on the day on which the Holy Church celebrates the Patronage of St. Joseph. We went immediately to the Convent of our Seraphic Father, St. Francis in the Province of Granada, and here our venerable Father Junípero again set a good example. Before he had hardly been half an hour in the convent, he joined the community at compline and meditation and continued so with them during the five days that we were there. When the time had passed we went on in a coast-sail-boat (xebec) for Cadiz, reaching that port on the 7th of May.

CHAPTER III

The Delay in Cadiz. We embark for Vera Cruz. What happened on the way to the V. Father Junípero.

THERE had gathered at Cadiz the friars who had been enlisted for the College of San Fernando, Mexico, awaiting an opportunity to embark. As soon as we arrived we were directed to the convent of the Order and were received with affectionate welcome both by the Reverend Father Commissioner as well as by the rest of the religious of the Order. His Reverence immediately communicated to us what had happened to the five (as has been indicated), how they were frightened from going, and how this had opened the way for our coming, and he added that he had hoped there would be five of us, as he would have sent other patents. To this the V. Father Junípero replied that there was no lack of candidates and that if there were time to send for them they would come. The Father Commissioner then told him that there was sufficient time, because it was necessary to send out the recruits in two groups, and that they might come in the second. The patents were therefore sent to the Province and under them came out later the Reverend Fathers Fr. Juan Crespi, Fr. Rafael Verger and Fr. Guillermo Vicens, all moved by the example of our Reverend Fr. Junípero.

On the 28th of August of the year 1749 the first group of enlisted friars embarked. It was composed of the President (member of the College of the Holy Ghost, Province of Valencia) and twenty other friars, among whom was my revered father. In the long voyage of ninety-nine days which we spent in reaching Vera Cruz there were not lacking vexations and alarms, because in the small space of the vessel there had to be accommodated not only our company but also that of the Reverend Dominican Fathers, besides the other passengers, and also because, fifteen days before reaching Puerto Rico, there was a scarcity of water and the ration had to be diminished (the amount given for the twenty-four hours was but little more than a quart, nor were we allowed to make chocolate). But Fr. Junípero endured these privations with such patience that not a single complaint was heard from him, nor was there to be noted in him any sign of sadness. This caused no small comment, and some of the companions used to ask him if he were not thirsty. He would always answer, "It gives me no concern," and if any one would complain that he could not stand it, he was accustomed to answer, with quite as much wit as wisdom: "I have found a good remedy against feeling thirsty; and that is, to eat little, to talk less and so save my saliva."

During all the time of the voyage he never took from his breast the Crucifix, not even to sleep. Every day, except when the storm prevented, he celebrated the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. At night he was busy hearing the confessions of those who sought him out for that purpose. He was respected by all as a perfect and holy man, because of the very good example he gave of humilty and patience.

We stopped to take water at the Island of Puerto Rico in the middle of October, going ashore there on a Saturday afternoon. We went to the shelter of the Hermitage of the Immaculate Conception, situated beyond the walls of the city. Here there was a chapel with three altars and accommodations for the whole company. It was already dark when the Hermit, or Sacristan who took charge of the chapel, asked us if we would like to join in the Rosary, at which quite a number of people gathered because it was Saturday. Not all the friars had as yet come ashore and the President was still occupied in the task of their landing and he charged our Fr. Junípero that he take those of us who were ashore to that place, saying that from the pulpit he might repeat the Rosary of the Joys of our Lady and say a few words of consolation to the people. We attended the service and chanted the *Tota Pulchra*. When this was finished my V. Father spoke a few words, which were as follows: "To-morrow, for the consolation of all the dwellers of this city, a mission will begin and it will last as long as our vessel may be detained in port. I invite you all for to-morrow night, in the cathedral, where we will begin."

Such an invitation and announcement could not but cause great surprise to all and especially to the R. F. President, who had not thought of such a thing, and he asked our good Father why he had done it. The latter replied that so he had understood his Reverence, "because," he said, "what words of greater consolation could I give to these Islanders than to announce to them that they were to have a Mission during the time of our stay here?" At this the President rejoiced, as did we all, and especially when we learned that the greater part of those people had not been to confession since the time that another group of Missionaries of San Fernando had visited them, nine years previously.

The next day at nightfall we scattered ourselves over all the city in order to take it by storm with homilies and pious ejaculations, and then marched into the Cathedral. The Reverend Father who presided over the Mission preached the first sermon to a large audience, and on the second night the Rev. F. Junípero preached. Our vessel waited there two weeks, one of these being at the request of the City, in order that the Mission might go on. During this time we were all employed in hearing confessions, often for the greater part of the night. All the people of the town had a part in the jubilee, for it was said that not one was left without having confessed, it all being attributed to the fervent zeal of our Venerable Father.

When the Mission was concluded, we sailed for Vera Cruz on the 2d of November, and we had almost arrived at that port when a storm from the north struck us. It was so furious that we were obliged to put to sea again in the direction of Campeche, where another storm caught us on the 3d and 4th of December, which was so terrible that on the second night we gave ourselves up for lost and thought there was nothing else to do but to prepare for death. But Father Junípero maintained during all the storm the same unalterable peace and quietness of mind as if it were the most serene of days, so that many who saw him were tempted to ask him if he were not afraid. He replied that he did indeed fear, but whenever he remembered what had brought him to the Indies, he could put it aside. His calmness suffered no change when, that same night, we were told that the crew had mutinied against the captain and pilot, demanding that the vessel be beached in order that some might save themselves, as the vessel could not much longer stand the strain and because the pumps were not sufficient to keep out the great influx of water. Out of these dangers God graciously delivered us through the intercession of the glorious Virgin and Martyr, Santa Bárbara, whose image is annually venerated on that day in the Churches. For all of us friars who composed the two companies, having cast lots among the various patron Saints of our greatest devotion, one of them being that of our company, — the holy Santa Bárbara already mentioned, — the lot fell on her as our special Patron. When we had all called upon her of one accord saying: "Long live Santa Bárbara," the storm ceased immediately and the opposing wind became so mild that within two days, on the 6th of December, we anchored in Vera Cruz. The next day, it being the eve of the Immaculate Conception of our Lady, we all went ashore without further incident.

CHAPTER IV

Journey on Foot which the Venerable Father Made from Vera Cruz to Mexico City.

AS soon as the two bands, ours and that of the Dominican Fathers, had safely landed, a solemn celebration was held by them both in honor of our glorious Protectress, Santa Bárbara, in proof of our gratitude and in order to fulfil the vows which we had made in the moment of great affliction. At this service our Venerable Fr. Junípero preached, giving a complete narrative of even the smallest circumstances and the little incidents which had happened during the long voyage of ninety-nine days. This he did with such perfection and eloquence that he produced wonderment in them all, and on top of his reputation as most exemplary, which he already had, he acquired the other title of being very wise and very humble, for up to this time scarcely the least of his great talents had come to be recognized.

Having in mind the very sickly climate of Vera Cruz (which I experienced very shortly to my sorrow, as I came near the point of death), an effort was made to have us leave for Mexico. The journey, which is one of a hundred leagues was at the expense of the king, who furnished transportation and other necessaries, in order that, in view of the long time spent in the sea voyage and the sudden changes in that climate, was not to be made on foot but on horseback and with a certain degree of comfort. However, our model Junípero, desiring to make the journey without resting, asked of the Reverend Father President that he be permitted to go on foot, inasmuch as he was in good health and had the necessary strength for the task. The latter, recognizing the fervor of his spirit, granted permission both to him and to another Missionary from the Province of Andalusia who had also made the same request. So they both set out without other guide or provisions than the breviary and their firm confidence in Divine Providence.

But having thus chosen the best of all passports, far from lacking anything in the way, they were the recipients of the most singular aid of the Almighty. One day when they had traveled longer than they had expected they reached the banks of a river after nightfall, and they knew from what they had been told that they must cross this river before they could reach the town where they would find shelter for the night. On seeing that the river was high and that it threatened no little danger to any one who might try to pass it without knowing exactly where the ford was, they were much perplexed. Finding themselves in this situation in the darkness of the night, without any one to show them the ford, our two travelers hesitated about entering the water and instead, hoping that Heaven would send them some help in this time of need, they began to recite the prayer of the Benedicta of Our Lady. When they had finished it, it seemed as though they could distinguish upon the opposite shore some form which was moving. In order to make sure, Fr. Junípero called out in a loud voice, using these words: "Hail, Holy Mary! Is there any Christian on the other side of the river?" The answer came: "Yes. What do you want?" The friars replied that they desired to cross the river and did not know the ford. The voice from the other side told them to go along the shore upstream until he told them to stop. This they did and walked quite a little way, and then the guide, whom they could not see, told them that they could pass at this point. This they did without any danger and found the man with whom they had been speaking, who was a Spaniard, well dressed, and very attentive to them, although of but few words. He then took them to his house, quite a way distant from the river, gave them supper and provided them with beds. When, the next morning, they left the house for the church in order to say Mass, and noticed that in all the road there was plenty of ice on account of the storm of the night before, they better understood the great benefit which God had granted them in providing them with shelter through the agency of their benefactor, for without him they must surely have perished under the inclement rigor of the night.

The fact that they had found this man at that place at such an unlikely hour and in the darkness of the night could not but cause the greatest wonderment to both Fathers, but having asked him what was the reason why he had been so far from home at that hour, he replied that he had gone out on a matter of business and they did not desire to further show their curiosity. All this might have been the purest coincidence, but our pilgrims attributed it to no less than the singular protection of Most Holy Mary, to whom in gratitude they returned humble thanks, and having also thanked their benefactor they bade him good-bye and went on their way.

After having gone a long way and finding themselves greatly fatigued by the hardness of the way, as well as the heat of the sun, they met a man on horseback who, after saluting them and asking them where they expected to stop, said to them: "Your Reverences must be tired and thirsty; take this pomegranate and it will refresh you." He gave to each of them a pomegranate and when he had bade them good-bye, he went on his way. The pilgrims ate of this little fruit which not only refreshed them and quenched the thirst which they felt, but also gave them strength to continue their journey without any signs of fatigue until they reached the hacienda where they were to stop. Having noticed the effect of the fruit they began to talk about the person who had given it to them, for, from his aspect and mode of speech, he seemed to them to be the same who the night before had showed them the ford in the river and given them the hospitality of his house.

Many times the venerable Father Junípero referred to these incidents in his exhortations to put our trust in the Divine Providence, and he used to say that that benefactor was either the Patriarch Saint Joseph, or some other devout man, whose heart the Saint had touched that he should do for them these works of charity.

Another similar incident happened to them in the next day's journey. They had spent the night at an inn and the next morning after one of them had said Mass, they bade good-bye to the owner, who, lest they should arrive late at the next inn, gave them a loaf of bread. They set out and had not gone far when they met a poor beggar who asked them for alms. They gave him the only thing they had, which was the loaf of bread, trusting that they would arrive early at the place where they were to stop, and in case they did not, they would be cared for by Divine Providence. This devout wish they saw fulfilled, for when they had traveled a long way and, on account of great fatigue, were feeling the need of food, they sat down to rest awhile by the side of the road. A man on horseback passed by who, when he saw the Fathers there, after saluting them and asking them where they were going to stop, drew out a loaf of bread, and, breaking it in two, gave the half of it to each one, remarking that there was still quite a distance to go. He went on his way and our pilgrims having received his alms and examined the bread did not dare to eat it because, as they afterwards told me, it seemed to be made simply of corn, badly mixed and half baked, and for that reason they feared it would do them harm; but, on account of their weariness and the need of eating something to sustain them if they were to walk further, they felt obliged to taste it, and when they had done so, they discovered that it was most palatable and of excellent savor, as if it had been kneaded with cheese. They ate it and felt invigorated sufficiently to continue their journey and to reach the inn at nightfall.

They continued afterwards their journey, and, on account of the fatigue, the feet of the venerable Father Junípero became much swollen, so that he could hardly reach the inn that day. They attributed it to the bite of a mosquito, on account of the great itching sensation, and there they felt obliged to rest a day. While he was asleep that night, without knowing it, the Father scratched his foot too much, and the next morning he found it all bloody. From this there resulted a sore which, as we shall afterwards see, remained there all his life. Notwithstanding this accident, after resting a day they went on their journey, and in the afternoon of the last day of December of the year 1749, reached the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Guadolupe. There they passed the night and when they had said Mass the next day in gratitude to this wonderful Lady, they went on to the College of San Fernando which was scarcely a league distant.

CHAPTER V

The Venerable Father Arrives at the College of San Fernando. What He Did There up to the Time of His Departure for the Missions to the Pagans.

THE Venerable Father Junípero Serra entered as a new pupil into the Apostolic College of San Fernando of Mexico on the 1st of January of the year 1750, about nine o'clock in the morning, at the time when the Community was engaged in prayer. He immediately entered the church in order to receive first the blessing of the Lord in the Eucharist, and having remained there during the time that the friars were engaged in prayer he came out full of joy and said to his companion, "Father, we can well consider that our time has been well spent in coming so far and suffering so much, just to be allowed to have the joy of being members of a community which with so much order and devotion pays the debt of the Divine Office." He immediately entered the College and received the blessing of the Rev. Father Guardian, who received us with the embrace of an affectionate father, as did also all the friars. One of them, who was among the founders of the College and much venerated by all, when he embraced our Father Lector, said, "Would that some one might bring us a whole grove of junipers (Juníperos) such as this one." But the most humble man replied, "It was not of this sort, Reverend Father, that our Seraphic Patriarch[8] asked for, but of others quite different."

The next day after his arrival at the College, he asked the Father Guardian to assign him a confessor and he assigned the Father who was then Master of the Novices, the Venerable Father Fr. Bernardo Pumeda, Missionary of much fame, formerly in the College of Sahagun, Spain, and who is there at present, a great master of speculative and practical mystics. As soon as he knew that the Rev. Father Guardian had given him for a director the Master of Novices, he said: "The Prelate has been wise in his choice; this is what I need, to renew my novitiate," and with great joy and fervor he presented himself to the Master and with all humility informed him as to what the

Guardian had decided, and asked that for the love of God he be admitted as if he were the youngest of the novices, and also that he might be allowed to live in one of the cells of the novitiate. The prudent director replied that with great pleasure he would receive him as his Son in the Faith in conformity with the disposition made by the Prelate; but that his Reverence would have to subject himself to his instructions, as this thing which he asked for, namely, to live among the novices, was something new which had never been done in the Colleges, as every one knew. "For this reason," he went on to say, "Your Reverence will live in the cell assigned to you by the Guardian just like all the rest, and you will be permitted to attend only the special exercises of the novitiate."

This plan was carried out during the five months that he remained in the College before leaving for the Missions, showing himself very punctual in the choir and in all the services of the community. As soon as he came out from these, he used to go every day to the novitiate, there to recite with the Director the Little Office, the Way of the Cross, the Rosary, and the other devout exercises which the novices and the choristers perform, and in these he was edifying to them, and himself received great benefit of spirit.

When we arrived, the College was very much in need of laborers for the work of Missions, both among Catholics and the pagans. Five Missions had been founded six years previously, in the Sierra Gorda, and in order to sustain them, it had been obliged to make use of the Missionaries of the other Colleges who were accustomed to serve a half year in a place and then be changed. Some days after the arrival of our company at the College, while the Rev. Fr. Guardian was enjoying a little rest in the garden with the other Fathers who had come with us from Spain and among whom was the Venerable Father Junípero, the Prelate expressed his joy that we had come, as he said that he hoped that now they would be relieved of the necessity of going about begging for laborers from the other Colleges, and that he hoped that some of those present would feel called upon to go and work in the Missions among the pagans in the Sierra Gorda.

When our fervent Father Junípero heard this (not forgetting the great desires for such activities which had influenced him in leaving his native land and his Holy Province), he said to the Father Guardian, using the words of the prophet: "*Ecce ego, mitte me.*"* Following his example several others did the same thing so that the prelate had more than enough to take care of the five Missions (granting them the necessary dispensation for not remaining the year in the College as a period of probation, as the new Papal Bulls of Pope Innocent required). He named eight of those who had come from Spain, and among them the Rev. Father Junípero and myself as his companion, advising us at the same time that we should make our preparations so as to be ready to go on the first notice. As soon as our servant of God saw that he had been chosen for the Mission to the pagans he increased his spiritual exercises in order to be the better prepared to obey the voice of the Prelate.

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*"Here am I, send me."

CHAPTER VI

He Leaves for the Missions of the Sierra Gorda. His Work There, and What He Accomplished.

THE glorious and most desirable purpose of converting the pagans and the propagation of our Holy Catholic Faith had moved the Venerable Father Fr. Antonio Linaz de Jesús to go to Spain in order to solicit the founding of the Apostolic College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro, as is told in the Chronicle of the Colleges (Book I, Chap. 12, pages 39 and 40), in order that its friars might be employed principally in the task of reducing to civilization and Christianity the Indians who inhabited the mountain region, or Sierra Gorda of that State. This region, very rough and broken, begins about thirty leagues from the city just named, and extends for over one hundred leagues in length and thirty in width toward the northeast, and in its brakes and ravines live the Indians of the Pame nation, still in their barbarism in spite of the fact that they are so near to Christian towns. When the above mentioned College had been founded, as is related in the Chronicle, Book IV, Chap. I, pages 253 and 254, two of the first Missionaries of the founders started for the Sierra in order to carry out the plan of their conversion. When they had reached the hills and begun their work among the Spanish peoples in the immediate vicinity, they were told that the region was already occupied by the Reverend Dominican Fathers who had founded Missions there, so they did not penetrate into the interior of the hills, but skirted them toward the east until they arrived at a hill called Famauripa, which divides Nueva Leon from the Province called the Huasteca, and here they founded a Mission which was afterwards placed under the Custody of Tampico.

Acting under this understanding of the matter, the Missionary Fathers of Querétaro did not attempt further to exert their activities in the reduction of the Indians of the Sierra Gorda, considering that they were already evangelized. This was the understanding of all up to the year 1743 in which His Majesty appointed Colonel Don Joseph Escandon as General over this district. The latter immediately desired to visit it in fulfillment of his duties, and although he found that the Reverend Dominican Fathers had occupied one side and those of Saint Augustine the other, he discovered in the center between the two a great belt of the people of the Pame nation who were living in paganism and among them many Christians, who, when they were children, had been brought down to the towns of the Spaniards and had been baptized. But they were only Christian in name for they were living as pagans and mingled with those who were. The General proposed to them that they come and live in towns as the Christians do in their own lands and he would bring them Fathers who would instruct and baptize them. To this they agreed and word was sent to his Excellency the Viceroy, and then in turn to His Majesty, who issued a royal decree authorizing the founding of eight Missions, three under the care of the Apostolic College of Pachuca of the Reverend Barefoot Fathers of our Order, and the remaining five to our Apostolic College of San Fernando, making the dividing line between them the copious waters of the River Montezuma which drains the valley of Mexico and after crossing the Sierra and winding through the Huasteca, empties into the Gulf of Mexico.

The work of evangelization began in the year 1744 with the arrival of the Missionaries of the College of San Fernando, having for their president the Reverend Father Fr. Pedro Pérez de Mezquia, and with him came Gen. Don Joseph Escandon. On exploring the region they decided on five appropriate sites for the Missions to which the Indians of the neighborhood gathered and they were left free to go to the one they preferred. The Reverend Father President assigned two Missionaries to each station and with the help of the native Indians and a few of the Christian Indians who had been brought out from Mexico as colonists, the Standard of the Holy Cross was raised, a Chapel of wood roofed with thatch, to serve provisionally for a church, and then a house of the same material for the residence of the Fathers. The Indians also formed little huts of the same material for their dwellings and to protect themselves from the heat of the sun. The Governor stationed at the principal Mission, in the place called Jalpan (dedicated to the Apostle Saint James, Patron of the Spanish Possessions), a company of soldiers of the militia with their corresponding officers, captain, lieutenant and ensign, from which company the soldiers were divided into squads and sent to the various Missions wherever they thought it necessary that the Missionaries have an escort. When the Missions were established, they were all dedicated, the other four being dedicated to the Immaculate

Conception of our Lady, to the Prince and Archangel Michael, to our Seraphic Father St. Francis, and to our Lady of the Light. The General retired to the city of Querétaro, leaving to the Fathers the task of making out the census in which were to be counted the Indians as they settled in the neighborhood of each Mission, the number reaching 3840. The Fathers inquired as to who had been baptized in infancy and who had not. They instructed these in two different classes by means of interpreters, making use principally of the Indians from Mexico, as they had learned to use the language; and finally the priests baptized all that had been living in paganism.

The Reverend Father Mezquia, an experienced man in the matter of founding Missions, having been one of those whom the Venerable Father Margil took with him for the Missions in Texas, began to formulate the instructions which should be given to the Indians of the Sierra Gorda for their spiritual and temporal direction. These same rules were used in the other Missions of the Colleges of the Holy Cross of Querétaro and in that of our Lady of Guadalupe of Zacatecas in their Spiritual Conquests, and it is as follows:

RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR SPIRITUAL DIRECTION

In the first place the Missionary Fathers shall see to it that at sunrise, at the ringing of the bell, all the Indians shall gather in the church, both men and women, those who have been baptized and those who have not, as well as also the neophytes, without a single exception.

One of the Fathers shall repeat with them the prayers and the text of the Christian Doctrines, explaining to them in Spanish the principal ones; and he shall do the same, after the adults have gone out, with the boys and girls, in the morning and in the afternoon just before sunset, including all over five years old, without allowing a single exception to this exercise.

All the catechumens, and those who are about to marry, or to fulfill the annual precept concerning confession, shall attend these classes on the doctrines both morning and afternoon, in order that they may be instructed before receiving these Holy Sacraments. The same rule shall be followed in the case of those who may have forgotten the doctrine in spite of the obligation to be present at the daily practice.

The feast days shall be kept with all vigilance, and no one shall fail to attend the principal Mass nor the sermon which should accompany it with the explanation of the Gospel or the mysteries of our Holy Faith. The Father shall try to adapt these with prudence and tact to the intelligence and simplicity of the Indians, and when Mass is over, one of the Missionaries shall call the roll by name of all, and they shall all come, one by one, as the names are called, and kiss his hand. In this way it will be seen if there are any absent.

The more intelligent and capable ones shall be exhorted to frequent the Holy Sacraments, in addition to attendance at church, principally on the great feast days, and to hear Mass even in the days in which it is not obligatory to do so; but this not to be required by force, but each to be left at liberty to come or not.

The sick shall be visited as often as possible, having in mind the conditions of the country, and they shall be helped and cured with the greatest care, and they shall receive the Sacraments if entitled to them and shall be given the aids in preparing for death. The people shall also be required to attend the funeral.

The Fathers shall also carefully try to do away with enmities and quarrels among the people, teaching them to live in peace and Christian love and shall be careful that there be no scandal or evil example in the Missions.

TEMPORAL GOVERNMENT

In order to secure this spiritual fruitage, which is the main purpose of the Mission, the Reverend Father Mezquia ordered that the temporal good of the Indians of the Pame people should be secured. Because if these things were lacking the Indians would not be able to come to the Mission nor attend Mass or take part in the daily prayer, for they would be obliged to be scattered abroad in search of food and clothing. In order to avoid this, His Paternity directed that the Fathers of the Missions should request, through the Síndico and on account of the annual stipend which His Majesty had given them for their maintenance, in addition to the contributions at the time of Mass which they had been recommended to receive, tools and other implements necessary to plant the crops, as well as cows, oxen and other cattle in order that the fruitage of these things might maintain the Mission, as was the custom in the early days of the Church. This was done at the beginning of the Missions and as time went on the gifts were increased and several crops were harvested and distributed among the Indians in order to help them in their life around the Missions.

The climate in this Sierra is very hot and damp and therefore trying to the health. For this reason many of the Missionaries were taken sick, of whom in the first few months four died and others had to return to the hospital of the College, there being left only two of the founders of the Mission. As the College was at that time so depleted, it was necessary to ask for aid from the Colleges of Querétaro and of Zacatecas, but as these were sent to supply vacancies and remained only six months and then had to be replaced with others, they did not have time to learn the language and so the Spiritual Conquest of the land suffered a great hindrance.

CHAPTER VII

Continuation of the Same Subject.

THIS was the state of things in the above mentioned Missions when our group of laborers arrived from Spain, and as the Venerable Father Junípero and myself as his companion had been named to go to one of these Missions, we left the College of San Fernando in the early days of June of the year 1750. Although there had come from the Mission of Jalpan, whither we were to go, Christian Indians and a soldier as escort with saddle-horses and pack-animals, on account of the long and hard road, for all that, my revered Father Fr. Junípero desired to make the journey on foot. This decision resulted in making much worse the sore in his foot and the swelling as it was a long, hard journey, but thanks be to God, we arrived there on the 16th of June and had the great pleasure of seeing the extreme joy of those who received us in the Mission, the number of Indians, both great and small, being about a thousand. But all these were so very lacking in everything on account of their ignorance of the language, that there was not a single one who fulfilled his obligations to the Church by coming every year to Confession and Communion.

When our Venerable Father understood the situation in which the Missions were placed, and of which he had been named President by our College, he put in force the Temporal and Spiritual Instructions given for the direction of the people and he tried to add to them whatever he thought might help and what his fervent zeal in the matter dictated.

When he saw how backward things were for the reasons already given, he devoted himself to the study of the language, having for his teacher a Mexican Indian who had been brought up among the Pames. As soon as he had availed himself of this important medium for the spiritual progress of the people, he translated into the Pame dialect the prayers and the text of the Christian doctrine, the more important of the Mysteries, and then he began to repeat the prayers with the Indians in their own language, alternating daily with the Doctrine in Spanish so that in a short time they were under the influence of the Mysteries of our Holy Faith and began to make Confession and to receive Communion, fulfilling annually the precepts of the Holy Church. The servant of God persuaded them by his fervent talks to come to Mass and Confession on the feast days by setting them the example, as had done the great St. Francis de Sales, confessing himself publicly in the Presbytery when the church was full of people at the time of the High Mass on the feast days. He thus obtained the end desired so that there were many who confessed as a matter of devotion, and there were days in which the number of Communicants was more than a hundred, others in which it was forty, etc., and each year at the time of Easter, nearly every one complied, especially towards the close of the period of nine years in which he was located in these Missions, in which time a very large number of pagans were baptized by our Venerable Father. I will not say how many as I did not take the pains to find out, but it is sufficient to say that there was not left a single pagan in all that region, but all its inhabitants had been baptized by my Revered Father and his Companions, and all had been civilized and were living in the town within call of the bell.

In order to ground them well in the Faith which had they received and instruct them in the Catholic religion, he instructed them concerning all the feast days of the Lord and of the most Holy Virgin our Lady, as well as in those of the Saints, and for this end he made use of all the inducements which his holy Apostolic zeal suggested, his exercises being almost continual in the virtues and charities of our Religion. In all the feasts of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Holy Mary he celebrated High Mass and in them preached, explaining the Mystery and the occasion for the Holy Day. In the principal ones the Novena preceded and the people attended them almost in a body. The feast day of the Nativity was with High Mass at daybreak, and the last day of the year was ended with Mass in which the Calenda was sung and a sermon given, all being invited to attend the Matins and the Midnight Mass. When this was finished, a dialogue was presented which represented the birth of the Child Jesus. In this some of the Indian children took part, whom the zealous Father had previously instructed, a part of them to recite in Spanish and another part in Pame, so reproducing that great Mystery with great vividness. In this way he was able to instruct them and win their affection.

During the time of the Lenten season he did not spare himself in his devotion to his desire to move the hearts of the neophytes. He began immediately on Ash Wednesday with this sacred ceremony of the Church, which all the people attended. He explained its meaning, finishing with a sermon and an exhortation that all should remember that they are mortals. On every Sunday of Lent he was not satisfied with the Simple Doctrines at the High Mass, but in the afternoon, after reciting the prayers of the Rosary of the Holy Mary and the singing of the Praises, he used to preach a moral sermon. He did the same on Friday after having made in procession the Way of the Cross from the Church to the Chapel of Calvary which he had ordered erected on a hill outside of the town and within sight of the Church. In this sacred exercise, the Venerable Father Junípero used to carry a cross which was so heavy that I, who was younger and stronger than he, could scarcely lift it. When the service was over, he would preach with great tenderness about the Passion and try to persuade them to give their devotion to it. Holy Week was celebrated with all the ceremonies of our Mother Church. On Palm Sunday the procession was celebrated and beginning on that day and every day thereafter the Passion was recited, in which each of us had to take double part because there were but two of us. The same with regard to the Matins of the three days. On Holy Thursday, the Eucharist was put in the place prepared for it and both on that day and on Friday, and on Saturday as well, all the other ceremonies were performed according to custom. In addition to these he added several processions which he was wont to terminate with a sermon. On Thursday, after having washed the feet of twelve of the oldest Indians and eaten with them, he proceeded to the sermon of "washing of the feet," and at night made the procession with the image of the Christ Crucified in the presence of all the people. On Good Friday he used to preach in the morning on the Passion, and in the afternoon the Descent from the Cross was represented with the greatest vividness by means of a lifelike figure which he had ordered made for the purpose and which had hinges. He handled the subject in his sermon with the greatest devotion and tenderness. The body of Our Lord was placed in a casket and then used in the procession of the Holy Burial. It was afterward placed upon an altar which he had also prepared for this purpose and at night another procession was made in honor of Our Lady of Solitude, and then the day was finished with a special sermon on this subject. On the Saturday following, all ceremonies belonging to the day were observed, the water was blessed and the converts who had been instructed and prepared for it were baptized. Very early on Sunday morning the procession of Our Risen Lord took place, which was celebrated by means of an image of the Lord and another of the Most Holy Virgin. On returning to the church High Mass was sung and the Venerable Father would preach about this Sovereign Mystery.

By means of these most holy exercises the great tenderness of devotion of the converts was greatly increased and by the use of them the Holy Week was yearly more and more celebrated, the word going out among the peoples in the vicinity, composed of Spaniards, and causing many of them to come to take part in the service, being attracted by what they heard said concerning the extreme devotion of the Indians; and when they had once witnessed the ceremonies they would return from year to year, moving from their homes to the Mission where they remained until the Holy Week had passed.

With no less carefulness did this servant of God try to draw his children toward the worship of the most Holy Sacrament. He instructed them to prepare and decorate arches in the road where the procession of Corpus Christi would pass. Four chapels were placed along the way with their respective altars where our Crucified Lord might rest, and after the singing in each one of them of the corresponding anthem, verse and prayer, an Indian stood up (generally a little boy) and recited a praise to the Divine Sacrament, of which two were in Spanish and two in the Pame dialect, which were very touching and increased the devotion of all. When they had returned to the church a Mass was sung and a sermon preached on this most Holy Mystery.

With the same carefulness he consecrated himself to encourage in all devotion to our Lady Mary, and especially to her Most Immaculate Conception, preparing for this celebration with a Novena at which all the people were present. On the great day of the feast Mass was sung, a sermon was preached, and afterwards they chanted The Joys of the Most Immaculate Conception. Every Sunday afternoon they recited the Crown of Our Mother of Mercy, finishing it with a Hymn of Praise and the Hymn of Joy, which were sung. In order to make this the more attractive the Venerable Father had had sent out from Mexico a sculptured image of our most Sweet Lady which was put upon a platform and taken out in procession through the town every Saturday night, the illumination being made with lanterns, and with the accompaniment of the singing of the Rosary. After coming back again into the church they sang the hymn, "*Tota pulchra es Maria*," which our beloved servant translated into Spanish and which the Indians learned by heart and chanted with great solemnity, producing in all who heard it the greatest tenderness, especially that verse which says: "Thou art the honor of our people" and by means of which a most ardent devotion was kindled toward our Most Merciful Mother.

In the same way he tried to impress upon their plastic hearts devotion to Saint Michael, Archangel, to the Most Holy Patriarch, Saint Joseph; to our Holy Father, Saint Francis, and to the other Saints in such a fashion that the whole people were as well instructed as if they were Spaniards and had been brought up Catholics, all this being due to the very fervent zeal of our Venerable Fr. Junípero. In view of the most laborious service of this model Prelate his subordinates were set to imitate him, as well as were also the friars of the other four Missions, and through these means the whole of the five towns became as thoroughly Christian as if they had always been such.

In order to accomplish this spiritual result, which was the principal object of the Conquest, the servant of God also carried out the instruction which had been given for the temporal government of the people, as soon as he arrived at his Mission of Jalpan, seeing to it that as far as possible the Indians should have what they needed to eat and to wear in order that they might remain in the Mission and not absent themselves from it because of any need to provide themselves with food. To this end our good Father secured through the College Sindico a supply of oxen, cows, asses, sheep and goats; he also secured corn and beans in order to make a planting for the current year in which he spent not only all that was left of the three hundred dollars of the stipend which his Majesty had assigned to each Missionary for his maintenance, but he also used in this way the contributions which had come in for the Masses which had been said, and which some friends of the Mission had forwarded. And so it was that he soon was able to harvest a crop and each year the amount harvested increased so that every day he was able to distribute something to the people after the recital of the prayers and of the doctrine. When these harvests, which had been obtained as the result of the greatest effort and through the kindly blessings of heaven, had largely increased and were so abundant that there was something left after all had been provided for, he instructed the Indians as to how they might sell their grain, under the direction of the Missionaries, and with the money gained buy more yokes of oxen and increase the number of their tools and other agricultural implements needed in the fields. Blankets, cloth and other things were brought in from Mexico with which to provide clothing and were distributed among the farm people as a sort of recompense for their part in the labor, as well as in order to encourage them further in these activities, which are quite laborious, but none the less important and useful.

In this most important labor he also tried to interest the women and the children, assigning to them their corresponding tasks and which were adapted to the strength and ability of each, in order that by these means they might be weaned away from the idleness in which they had grown up and to which they had been so long accustomed. One of the Fathers would himself personally superintend the labor in the field (especially during the first few years), both in order to encourage them and to instruct them; and this was done until a proper trustworthy person was found to act as a captain over them. After a while one of the more intelligent Indians was able to render this service. So it was that they harvested abundant crops, the property of the community was increased and the natives became more and more civilized every day. As they became interested in planting their own fields of corn, chili, beans and pumpkins, they were separately assigned strips of land, now and then a yoke of oxen, and other things, from the possessions of the community, as well as seeds for planting. The fruit from these fields, over and above what they needed for their own consumption, was sold and with the money gained they were encouraged to buy clothing, horses, and mules, all under the guidance of the Father who instructed them and prevented them from being cheated.

As soon as the Venerable Fr. Junípero saw that his children, the Indians, were in a condition to work with greater eagerness than at first, he began the work of the construction of a church building of stone with a large enough capacity to hold all the people. He communicated his desire to all the Indians, who, with great joy, agreed to his plan and offered to bring in the stone and the sand and to make the lime and mortar and to serve as helpers to the stone-masons. The work was begun and was continued through all the dry seasons except when it was necessary to attend to the labors of the field, and at the end of seven years the church was finished. It measured 53 yards long and 11 wide, with its corresponding vaulted ceiling and cross and at the back of it the vestry which also had its vaulted ceiling. A chapel was also built which was dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre. It was adorned with the images and altars of the Passion of Our Lord, in order to increase their devotion for the sacred services of the Holy Week. The church was also adorned with altars and altar-pieces and gilded railings. An organ was placed in the choir and a teacher brought out who could play it and teach the Indians to sing the Masses.

With the activity of these labors it was necessary to provide men for the special trades such as masonry, carpentry, blacksmithing, painting, decorating, etc., and the Indians became skilled in these labors. The fervent zeal of the Rev. Father Junípero had not forgotten to provide labor also for the women, and they were engaged in the corresponding tasks of their sex, such as spinning, weaving, knitting, sewing, etc. He also interested them in going out to sell their wares in other places such as Zimapan, the Huasteca, etc., taking their grains, *mecates*,[9] and *petates* (that is to say, *sisal ropes* and *mats* made of fine palm) which they made and from which they realized enough to buy cotton. This they spun and wove in order to make cloth for garments. They also brought from the mining camp of Zimapan blankets and coarse cloth for the same purpose. With the help of these things and with what was sent out for the stipend and for the contribution for the Mass, enough money was obtained to pay the wages of the masons, and in such a manner did our Lord and God provide for our needs that when the church was finally finished, instead of the Mission being in debt there was found to be more money in the treasury than at the beginning, and the barns to contain more than five thousand *fanegas*[10] of corn.

Stimulated by the good example of the Venerable Father Junípero, the Father of the other four Missions did the same, and constructed their churches after the model of that of Saint James, of Jalpan, with the help of the people that lived in each region. These were decorated with paintings upon the walls, furnished with sacred vessels and other accessories, and at the same time their fields were made to produce abundant harvests and to increase in the number of cattle and beasts of burden. So these peoples who had aforetime been untamed and savage became civilized and instructed in religion.

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CHAPTER VIII

Continuing the Same Subject as that of the Two Preceding Chapters.

AT this time when the above mentioned Missions had been brought to this flourishing condition, the Rev. Father Guardian of the College of San Fernando called our Venerable Fr. Junípero to prepare himself to take part in the Spiritual Conquest of the Apache Indians on the river of San Saba,[11] and immediately this obedient servant, as soon as he received the letter, with his face radiant with a new joy and happiness, left the Mission in which he had labored for nine years and to which he had given all the instructions which we have recorded, taking with him as a trophy of the victorious conquest which he had had over the devil the principal idol which those unhappy beings had formerly worshiped as their god. This was a well wrought face of a woman, sculptured on a block of marble, which had been kept on the top of one of the highest mountains in a house which was a sort of chapel or worshiping place and to which they used to go up by a stairway cut in the stone and along the side of which, as well as in the level place on the summit, were some of the tombs of the principal Indians of the Pame nation, who had, before their death, asked that they might be buried in that place.

The name which they gave to this idol in the native tongue was Cachum, that is, Mother of the Sun, who was venerated as a god. An old Indian took care of it and exercised the office of minister to the demon, and there the people would come in order to ask the Mother of the Sun for any remedy for which they were in need, such as rain for their crops, or health in time of sickness, or good luck in their journeys, or success in war, or the obtaining of a wife. In order to obtain these things they would come to the old man with a piece of white paper in their hand on which nothing was written, as they did not know how to either read or write, but which served as a means of communication. As soon as the false priest received this the parties were considered as thereby married. Whole basketfuls of these papers were found, together with a great many little idols, and these were all burned up with the exception of the principal idol. The latter was regarded by the old man who took care of it as very sacred, and he kept it covered up and hidden and allowed only a very few people to see it, and then only to such of the pagans as came in pilgrimages from long distances to worship and to bring their votive offerings and to ask for help in their necessities.

As soon as the Missionaries had entered upon their Conquest, and the people had been gathered into the five Mission stations, as has already been related, the old Indian took great care to hide away this image in a cave among the rocks of that high mountain. When the captain of the soldiers sent out a sergeant with a squad of men to burn all the huts of the Indians which were scattered about among the hills in order that the people might move into the new town, when they came to that place where was the hut that had served as the church or place of worship for the idol, they set it on fire without knowing for what purpose the place had been used. Although they made three or four attempts to ignite the hut (the sergeant himself told this to me) it would not burn, although it was constructed of such combustible materials as sticks and thatch. Greatly astonished at this the sergeant said to his soldiers: "Put fire to it in the name of God and Our Most Holy Mother." They tried it again and it immediately began to burn and was consumed in a moment. They noticed that a great smoke came out which was very thick and of disgusting odor which filled them with astonishment and fear, although they did not know what had been there. Afterwards when our Venerable Father Junípero had learned the language he investigated this whole affair and learned the truth of the matter from the Indians themselves who had been converted and who delivered over to him the idol above referred to, Cachum, which he carried to our College of San Fernando and delivered to the Rev. Father Guardian, asking that it be put in the box of the archives belonging to the documents and papers of these Missions as a memento of the Spiritual Conquest.

Notwithstanding the departure of the Venerable Father, the Fathers who remained in the Missions carried on their Apostolic labors with the same zeal and efficiency, and those who afterwards went out to the work helped to make them increase both in spiritual and temporal things and they were so well advanced and so well civilized that in a short time those five Indian towns became the wonder of all who passed through the region and a source of emulation to the secular priests in that neighborhood. In view of this our College of San Fernando ordered that they should be delivered to the Archbishop in order that they might be provided with parish priests in accordance with the regulations made in the Apostolic Bulls of Pope Innocent XI. For this purpose the proper requests were presented to His Excellency, the Viceroy, the Marquis de Croix, and to His Grace, Archbishop Francisco Antonio Lorenzana; and when both these gentlemen had agreed in the matter the transfer of the Missions was made in the year 1770, after having been founded twenty-six years. They were a source of wonder and of edification on account of the great progress that had been made in so short a time, as was shown by the documents drawn up by the Royal and Ecclesiastical Judges who had been commissioned to receive them by the Viceroy and Archbishop and who took pains to express their thanks to our College for the service that they had rendered to both Majesties as is shown in the two following letters which are copied from the original.

LETTER FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY, MARQUIS DE CROIX.

The memorial of Your Reverence and of the Councillors, dated the 10th of July last, in which you ask that secular priests be placed in the five Missions in the Sierra Gorda which have been under the charge of your Apostolic College, I referred to the Attorney General and in view of his reply, I have determined, as expressed in the decree of the 10th of the present month, to accede to the request of Your Reverences and at the same time I return my most sincere thanks for the zeal of the friars of the Mission who have so well accomplished their Apostolic labors. I also advise His Grace, the Archbishop, to name an ecclesiastic who shall take charge of the above mentioned Missions and provide them with secular priests. I also commission Don Vicente Posadas, of the city of Rio Verde, that on taking over the five Missions alluded to, he extend an official document to the Fathers who may be found in them, stating clearly what things are transferred in each case, and that the friars are to be allowed not only to take away their books and other belongings, but that they also be provided with all things needed for their comfortable transfer to their College, after having made the assignment of lands among the Indians in the way which you have proposed. To this end I have sent them word so that they may be fully instructed and that they may make a complete fulfillment. May God keep Your Reverences many years. Mexico, 15th of August, 1770. The Marquis of Croix.—To their Reverences the Guardian and Discretos of the Apostolic College of San Fernando.

LETTER FROM HIS GRACE, ARCHBISHOP FRANCISCO ANTONIO LORENZANA

My Dear Sir:—

The parish priest and ecclesiastical judge of Cadereita has communicated to me the steps which, under my order, were taken to put under the charge of the secular clergy the five Missions of Jalpan, Landa, Tilaco, Tancoyol, and Concá in the Sierra Gorda, in which has been made manifest the indefatigable zeal with which the sons of your Apostolic College have labored, in that their punctual fulfillment of their duties has been quite as noticeable at the end as it was at the beginning of their work. I cannot help but communicate to your Reverence my gratitude and my sense of obligation which make me long for an opportunity on my part in which to serve you. May Our Lord keep Your Reverences many years.— Mexico, Dec. 22nd, 1770. I kiss Your Reverences' hand. Most affectionately, Francisco, Archbishop of Mexico.— To the Reverend Father Guardian and Discretos of the College of San Fernando.

The honor which accrued to the College of San Fernando from this transfer of the five above mentioned Missions, which in the short period of twenty-six years had been brought to so fine spiritual and temporal condition; the honor which the Apostolic Institution had received and the very great labor accomplished by the Venerable Father Junípero during the nine years in which he was in charge, have stimulated me to give these details of the transfer and to repeat these affectionate expressions of regard which the above mentioned illustrious gentlemen tendered to the College when the Missions were received and when they were informed by the Commissioners of the careful instruction which the converted Indians of that region had received and the opulence in which the Missions were left and of which our Venerable Father had been President and among which he had worked so faithfully to bring them to this condition. It was his obedience to another call, that of the Missions of San Saba, that made necessary his separation from these Missions before the transfer had fully taken place.

CHAPTER IX

At the Call of His Superior He Goes up to Mexico to Prepare for the Missions of San Saba; But These are not Realized for Reasons Which Will be Given.

FOR many years the College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro cherished the intention of founding Missions among the warlike people of the Apache Indians, but accomplished nothing in this direction before the year 1758, in which His Majesty, having recommended this Conquest to the said College of the Holy Cross, and to that of San Fernando of Mexico, they both agreed, as they were so closely related, that for the present two Missions should be founded, one by each, under the protection of the garrison of one hundred men which was about to be established on the shores of the San Saba river, four hundred leagues to the north of Mexico City. The two Missionaries assigned from our College by the Directors (from among those who voluntarily offered themselves) and who went out were the Reverends Fr. Joseph Santi Estevan of the Recolección of the Province of Burgos and the Convent of Ágreda, and Fr. Juan Andreas of the Recolección of Concepción.

They arrived in due time at the Missions of the river of San Antonio Bejar, belonging to the College of Querétaro and about sixty leagues from San Saba. Here they were delayed and the second of the two Missionaries was taken so seriously ill that he could not go on and for this reason when the word reached the College the Rev. Fr. Miguel Molina (of the Recolección of Valencia) was named and he came on immediately as far as the Missions of San Antonio where he was told that his companion had already gone on with the Father Fr. Alonso Terreros of the College of Querétaro, and so he continued his journey to the San Saba river.

When he arrived at the place he found that the two Fathers had already begun the Mission of the Holy Cross on the banks of the river, three short leagues from the garrison where they already had a little chapel and some rooms to live in, but as yet none of the pagans had come near them. About fifteen days after the arrival of Father Molina the Indians presented themselves very suddenly and in great numbers, there seeming to be no less than a thousand of them, ready for war, painted, and armed with bows, lances, and firearms from which it was inferred that they belonged to the Comanche nation which has, or used to have, traffic with the French people of New Orleans and from whom they obtained arms in exchange for skins.

The Fathers received them with expressions of kindness, but the pagans, covering up their evil intentions, said that they had come to make peace with the Spaniards and asked that one of the Fathers go with them in order that they might not come to harm. When the latter excused themselves saying that it was not necessary and that they would send a letter and that they would be well received, they were not willing to go, but insisted that one of the Fathers go with them. In view of this Father Terreros decided to go, although he was quite sure that he was going to his death, at least when he bade good-bye to his companions he asked them to commend him to God and to commend themselves also, as he said: "We shall all shortly find ourselves in the other life." When Father Santi Estevan heard this, he retired to a little room with his holy crucifix in his hand, but Father Molina remained outside trying to conciliate the Indians and saying good-bye to Fr. Alonso. The latter had gone scarcely thirty paces from the houses accompanied by the whole band, who still pretended to be friendly, when suddenly a firearm was discharged and Father Terreros fell wounded to the ground. The whole band of Indians rushed upon him and put him to death and tore from him his holy habit.

When Father Molina saw this, that he could not aid his companion (for long before he could reach him the pagans would have done the same thing to him), he retired to the building and with him the soldier who had remained, both regretting that his companion, Father Estevan, was in the other little house and that they could not be together. The Indians forced their way in where the latter was and cut off his head, the blows being easily heard from the other room by Father Molina.

As the soldier had discharged his weapon, the Indians did not dare to draw near to the place but tried to set the house on fire. When the Father saw the flames he took from his neck a wax Agnus Dei and throwing it upon the flames they were as suddenly extinguished as if a river had been thrown upon them. When the pagans noticed this they thought they might force the door of the room but as many of them as tried it either fell dead or wounded by the soldier, who behaved himself with military prowess. The Indians also discharged their weapons and a bullet penetrated the arm of the Father and he lived carrying it there for many years. The valiant soldier was badly wounded in the legs from the bullets, but even wounded as he was he killed many and defended the Father until night, when the pagans retired.

Seeing that he was so seriously wounded and no longer with strength either to defend the Father or to attempt to run away, and understanding that he had but a short time to live, he insisted upon the Father's leaving him and trying his fortune in getting away in order to carry the word to the garrison. At the same time he gave the same charge to his wife, telling her to take with her their little child, saying: "If you remain you will surely die, but if you go away you may perhaps save your lives."

The Father was afraid to go out when he saw that the Indians had built fires about in order easily to discern what they were doing, and although he thought they would kill him as soon as they saw him, he none the less decided to go, and trusting in God and in the Most Holy Mary (whose Sorrows Holy Church is wont to celebrate on that day) he crawled out through a window and was enabled to pass between two of the bonfires without being seen. He threw himself into the river and floated down stream and then made his way, not by the trail lest he should be found, but through the woods to the garrison where he arrived three days later, bleeding and fainting for lack of food, as he had had nothing to eat but the raw herbs of the field and had dared to travel only by night. He recuperated in the garrison and the captain immediately sent out troops, but when they arrived at the place the Indians had already gone away, after having burned up everything including the body of the dead soldier who, as Father Molina himself told me afterwards (and it was he who told me the whole of the story), had wounded and killed no less than forty of the pagans.

An account of what had happened was immediately sent to Mexico City, and the College, far from losing heart, appointed two other Missionaries who were to go forward and found the Mission. One of those named was the Venerable Father Junípero, who was at that time among his own people in the Sierra Gorda, and although he had been fully informed as to the terrible tragedy just related, he did not excuse himself as he well might have done, but, on the other hand, gave thanks to God that his Superior had named him without first inquiring as to his will in the matter. As soon as he received the letter he started for the College.

The Superior intended that his departure should be almost immediate, but he afterwards learned that His Excellency, the Viceroy, had dispatched an order to the interior provinces decreeing that a military expedition should be made for the purpose of chastising the Indians and making an example of them, but the expedition did not set out as was expected and very shortly afterwards the Viceroy died, so that for these reasons the work of evangelization was suspended, a thing which caused great sorrow to the zealous Father Junípero. But he will not have lost, before God, the merit of having voluntarily offered himself for such an arduous enterprise with the evident accompaniment of mortal danger at the hands of those cruel and barbarous pagans.

CHAPTER X

Occupations and Activities in the College and in the Missions Where He Went out to Preach.

THE founding of the Missions of San Saba not having been carried out for the reasons expressed in the preceding chapter, the Rev. Father Guardian did not say anything further to our Venerable Fr. Junípero about his going back to the Sierra Gorda where he had been working, either because he wanted to have him at hand in case the Government should attempt the evangelization of the Apaches, or because the Superior hoped that the Venerable Father would say something about it himself. But our humble and obedient servant of God never wished to show any inclination than that of yielding blindly (in order not to err) to the voice of his Superior and to the will of God as expressed through the will of the Prelate. He remained, therefore, in the College until the year 1767, in which he was ordered sent to the Missions of California* and so it was that for a little more than seven years he was without any part in the activities of preaching to the pagans, but in this time he did very much toward the conversion of sinners in giving Missions which he conducted both in the district of the Archbishopric of Mexico City, as well as in four other dioceses.

In the capital of Mexico he preached two years in the Missions, which every third year our College of San Fernando conducts with great success, and no small amount of the fruitage was due to the fervent sermons of the Venerable Father. In one of these, in imitation of his patron, San Francisco Solano, he took out a chain, and having let fall his habit so that his shoulders were bared, and after having exhorted them all to penitence he began to lash himself so cruelly that the whole audience broke out in sobs, till, finally, one man rising up hurried into the pulpit, took the chain away from the penitent Father, came down with it, stood up on the platform of the presbytery, and then, imitating the example of the Venerable preacher, he stripped himself to the waist and began to make public penance, saying with tears and sobs: "I am the ungrateful sinner before God who should do penance and not the Father, who is a Saint." So unstinted and without compassion were the blows that he gave himself that he soon fell down before all the people who judged that he was dead. But having received Extreme Unction and Holy Communion he died a little later. Concerning this soul, we we allow ourselves to believe with all pious faith that it will enjoy the presence of God.

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* It must be remembered that these were the Jesuit Missions of Lower California, there being no Missions as yet in Alta California.

Outside of the capital the Venerable Father conducted several successful Missions in the mining camp of Zimapan and its neighborhood, in many towns of the Province of Mezquital, in the Huasteca, in its capital, Villa de Valles, Aquismon, and in many other places. He was nine months engaged in this work, seven of them being spent in the actual work of preaching and hearing confessions, the two others being spent in going and coming on account of the long distance from Mexico City. The success of the Missions was very great because it was forty years since the previous ones had been conducted.

In the diocese of La Puebla of the Angels, he conducted Missions along the coast of the Sea of the North, of the Gulf of Mexico, in Tabuco, Tuxpan, Tamiagua, and many other towns, about eighty leagues from Mexico City.

In the diocese of Antequera, or Oaxaca, he conducted Missions in many of the towns at the request of the illustrious Bishop Buenaventura Blanco, beginning one hundred leagues from Mexico on the border line of the diocese of Campeche, toward Tabasco, in those towns of the coast where a Mission had never been held. On his way toward the capital of Oaxaca, whither His Grace had invited him to come, the Venerable Father had to travel a week on the great river called Los Miges where he had to suffer, together with his companions, many hardships on account of the excessive heat, the annoyance of the flies, and the danger from alligators, without being able to disembark from the canoe on account of the tigers and lions, snakes and other poisonous creatures which abound in those regions and for which reason the country is sparsely inhabited.

After a week of such dangerous and annoying navigation he had to travel by land under similar difficulties as far as Villa-alta, a distance of about a hundred leagues from Mexico. Here the Venerable Father conducted a Mission and then went on to the city of Antequera where

His Grace, the Bishop, was expecting him. He arrived there in February, and having given notice of his intention, began a Mission which lasted all through Lent, resulting in innumerable conversions due to his Apostolic labors. This brought great comfort to the heart of that most zealous Prelate, who had our Venerable Fr. Junípero preach behind closed doors to all the clergy, while his companions were working among the people. From this preaching abundant fruit was obtained, especially because the illustrious Bishop had granted to the Fathers the right to perform the marriage ceremony for those who needed it and who, living illicitly, had passed themselves off for married people, of whom there were a great many, both in the capital and in the other towns, so that the work lasted here six months. When it was finished the Fathers returned to the College where they arrived after an absence of eight months, due to the long distances traveled. All this traveling the Venerable Father had accomplished on foot notwithstanding the ulcer and the swelling from which he suffered.

In the diocese of Valladolid he conducted a Mission in Rio Verde (one hundred leagues from Mexico), the headquarters of the Custody of Santa Catalina and adjacent towns, and finally in the diocese of Guadalajara, while on his way with his Companions for these Californias. And when detained in the port of San Blas waiting for the ship, they preached in the towns of Tepic, Jalisco, Compostela, Mazatlan, San José, Guaynamotas, and other neighboring places in the same jurisdiction where he was blessed with the conversion of innumerable sinners, not sparing himself any fatigue to accomplish these results.

It is no small labor to conduct a Mission among believers, as at least six months of continuous preaching and hearing the confessions must be employed between the first and the last sermon, without any other rest than the time necessary to walk to the field from the College and from one town to another until returning again to it. And if we are to count up the number of leagues traveled by the Venerable Fr. Junípero in these labors, there will surely be not less than two thousand. These tasks of his were greatly increased when the Patent or Title was given to him in the year 1752 of "Commissioner of the Holy Office," and with which he was honored by the Holy Tribunal of the Faith, the Patent being made to include in its jurisdiction all of New Spain and adjacent islands. For this cause he was called upon to labor in many different places and to travel a great number of leagues, fulfilling every one of the duties he was called upon to perform to the satisfaction of the Inquisitors, and who regarded him not only as a wise minister but as a most zealous one in his defense of the Catholic Faith and religion.

In the intervals between one Mission and another (according to the disposition of the Apostolic Bull, after finishing a period of six months of preaching among Catholics the Fathers were supposed to return to the Convent in order to recuperate their spiritual and physical forces) our servant of God always returned to the College where he attended with great punctuality the services of the choir both by day and night, and not being satisfied with the almost six hours which are employed in the recital of the Divine Office and mental prayer, he was never absent from the voluntary exercises of the Rosary, Via Crucis (The Way of the Cross), Via Dolorosa, etc.

He was also very punctual in the annual Retreats of the Order, observing to the letter the practices which our Venerable Father Fr. Antonio Linaz had left us. For a period of three years he was assigned to the position of Master of the Novices, but this did not hinder his going out to preach to the Christian towns, as there was some one to supply his place as teacher during his absence; and if, as we have said in Chapter III of this history, our Venerable Father very willingly attended all the exercises of the novices, what a chance is offered to our imagination when we consider how much his fervor must have shone forth when called upon to act as their teacher!

Another period of three years he acted as Discreto of the College, although this did not hinder him from his duties as a Missionary. In these three years during the time that he was in the College he acted as Vicar of the choir at the request of the Rev. Father Guardian because in that position he was not called upon to sing so very much. This position he filled with great pleasure and humility, as he always regretted that his voice would not permit him to be of further service in the singing. Many days he was the reader at the table and would rise in the middle of the meal in order to take the place of the chorister or novice who was reading. On other occasions he took the place of those who served as if he were himself a novice and would wait upon the tables. Whenever he was not occupied in the choir the time was spent in the confessional where he used to hear the confessions of as many of the poor people as chose to come to his feet. He did the same in the Convents of the Sisters, both of the same Order and of other Orders, and wherever any afflicted and conscientious souls asked for help and for comfort; and while he was very strict with himself he always showed himself very kind and benignant toward others, thus revealing the sincerity of his heart.

He was completely detached from the world and from seculars, even to such a degree that in a city as populous as is Mexico and so given to honoring the Missionaries who work there for their spiritual good and where there are so many people of all sorts going to confession and so many who had sought for the Venerable Father to help them out of their spiritual or moral doubts, there was no person whom he was accustomed to visit and when any one needed him and would come to the College for his consolation, if they did not find him, they knew that he had gone away to preach a Mission.

CHAPTER XI

Particular Incidents Which Took Place in the Missions Among the Faithful.

ONE time while he was conducting a Mission in the Province of the Huasteca, there were many of the townspeople where he preached who did not come to hear the word of God, giving one excuse or another to explain their negligence. After the Fathers had gone on to another town to continue their preaching, an epidemic broke out in the place first visited, from which sixty of the people died; the rest got well. The parish priest discovered that only those had died who had not attended the Mission and this he communicated by writing to Father Junípero who was the President of the Mission. This rumor of the sickness was spread abroad and as it happened that the epidemic followed so close upon the closing of the first Mission, the people of the other town were much frightened and showed very little willingness to attend the services and were quite angry at their parish priests for having admitted them. But when they knew that only those had died who had failed to hear the sermons, they attended the services with great regularity. Not only did the townspeople, but also those from the farms and ranches which were a long distance from the county seat, attend these meetings. There was one fellow who said that he had not seen a church or a priest, nor had he heard Mass or a sermon in eighteen years, and this might be true, because it was forty years since the previous Mission had been conducted in that country. In all these towns a great deal of fruit was gathered for God who in this way abundantly rewarded the labors of his servant Fr. Junípero and his Companions.

Having finished their Apostolic labors, the Missionaries were on their way back to the College and at the close of one of the days of travel the sun began to set before they reached a place where they could pass the night. This they thought they would have to do in the open field, and they were thinking about it when they happened to see, a little ahead of them, a house near the road. When they had gone in to ask for lodging they found there a venerable old man with his wife and a child who very gladly gave them hospitality and provided them with a supper which was noticeably neat and served with affection. When the Fathers had bidden them good-bye the next morning and thanked their benefactors they went on their way. They had not gone far before they met some muleteers who asked them where they had spent the night before. On telling them that it was in the house by the side of the road, the muleteers asked, "What house?" And when they told them, the muleteers replied: "In all the road which you went over yesterday there is no house nor ranch, not even within leagues of the road." The Fathers were much astonished and stood looking one at another, but the muleteers again affirmed the same thing, saying there was no such house by the road. The Missionaries therefore considered that it was due to the Divine Providence that they had been favored with that night's lodging and that, without doubt, those who lived there must have been Jesus, Mary and Joseph, a fact which was reflected not only in the cleanliness and neatness of the house, in spite of its poverty and the affection with which they were lodged and entertained, but also in the inner extraordinary consolation which their hearts had felt. They, therefore, gave all due thanks to God our Lord for the special benefit which they had received and their faith was greatly revived by the thought that the Divine Providence had not been withdrawn from them, as indeed they had seen it fulfilled to them during the thirty-two days of the journey from Huasteca to the College.

In one of the above mentioned towns in which the Venerable Father conducted a Mission he realized in his own person the fulfilment of that promise which Jesus Christ had given to the Apostles and of which the Evangelist St. Mark speaks in Chapter XVI, Verse 18, *Si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit.* (If ye drink any deadly thing, it will do you no harm.) While our servant of God was celebrating Mass, it seemed to him as he drank from the chalice as though some heavy weight had fallen into his stomach, as if it were lead. It was so painful that it upset his stomach and almost choked him. However, he prepared the wine for the purification, but it would have been impossible for him to have taken it as he became, almost immediately, quite choked and if it had not been for the prompt assistance of those who accompanied him in the celebration of the Mass the Venerable Father would have fallen to the ground. They carried him immediately into the vestry and there taking off the vestments they put him to bed, believing from what they had learned of the case that some one had put poison *in the wine cup in order to take his life.*

As soon as a certain Spanish gentleman from Asturia, a citizen of the place and who was very fond of the friars, heard of what had happened he came to the Convent bringing with him a very well known antidote and asked the Father to take it, as he said it was very efficient for this purpose. The Venerable Father fastened his eyes on what they were bringing to him in the glass, but, shaking his head and smiling, he gave them to understand that he did not wish to take it. After the good brother had been asked to retire they asked him if he would take some oil in order to provoke vomiting and when he assented to this by nodding his head they gave it to him, and immediately after he was able to articulate a few words which were the same as those which we have cited from St. Mark. The oil did not produce any nausea nor did he vomit but it made him well, either because of the strength of the remedy (as some people claim, saying that the oil counteracts the corrosive acids of the poison) or because of the faith of the Venerable Patient. The truth of the matter is that that same morning he went to the church to hear confession the same as if nothing had happened and as it was his turn to preach he did so on that day as well as the next.

When the good brother saw that the Reverend Father was well he came to see him and after expressing his good wishes he said in a tone of complaint: "Is it possible, my good Father Junípero, that you wished to insult me by not taking my medicine, which is so very efficacious against poison?" "In truth, dear brother," he replied, "it was not that I wanted to offend you or that I doubted the strength of the remedy or felt any repugnance about it, for in any other circumstance I should probably have taken it; but I had just eaten of the Bread of Angels, which, because of the consecration, had ceased to be bread and had become the Body of my Lord Jesus Christ. How then would you have me take so repulsive a drink after having taken into my mouth such divine food? I immediately knew what your drink was composed of, although it was brought to me in such a clean glass." The gentleman then confessed the truth, how that he himself, not trusting any one else, had diluted the molasses (for such indeed was the only ingredient of which that unclean drink was concocted) and so he was reassured in his faith as well as more fully confirmed as to the piety of the Venerable Father.

In the great Mission journey which, with five companions, he had conducted in the diocese of Oaxaca, among the many fruits which were there gathered there should be noted the very singular conversion of a woman in the city of Antequera, capital of the diocese. She was living in illicit relations with a rich and powerful man since the time she was fourteen years old. As he had acquired a great and blind affection for her and was not able to make her his wife because he had been married in Spain, he took her to his house and she lived with him as if she were his own wife and was reputed as such by all the people of that city. In this unhappy condition they lived together for fourteen years. The report of the Mission came to the ears of the woman and the fact that many were being converted to God and that the Fathers were to come to that city to preach there. These rumors were the voices with which God touched the heart of this sinful woman and she was not unmindful of them and immediately attempted to find a way to separate herself from so evil a relationship and to return to the path of obedience. She communicated her desire to her companion in sin but he at once tried to dissuade her, saying that she ought not to worry herself about that and threatening her that if she did leave him he would do something dreadful, that he would either kill her or that he would take his own life.

The Mission reached the city at a time when the people were not expecting it, but His Lordship, the Bishop, when he heard that it was the purpose of the Mission to enter the city on the night of Quinquagesima Sunday (the Sunday preceding Lent) in order to prevent the many scandals which ordinarily the people commit during those days of the carnival, he replied to the Missionaries that with great joy he would receive them, and that it seemed best to him that they should not announce their coming (in accordance with what they themselves had requested), in order that the people might be taken entirely by surprise.

The six Missionaries entered the city without making any noise and distributing themselves, two by two, in different parts of the city, and raising the Standard of the Holy Cross, they began the assault, using as their weapons a great abundance of pious ejaculations which were interspersed with fervent admonitions and calls for repentance. All the people were so overcome by emotion that, leaving their houses and crowding into the streets, they all followed the Fathers to the cathedral. There they were invited to come to hear the introductory sermon and the announcements concerning the Mission. Then they all retired to their homes much wrought up and weeping.

One of these pious ejaculations which one of the Missionaries had hurled at his hearers penetrated to the heart of this sinful woman so that she seemed as it were transfixed by it, if we are to judge by the great grief which she felt and the desire to be truly converted to God. She prepared for confession, and having been examined, came to the feet of the Venerable Father Fr. Junípero. She told him of the life she had led and of the purpose she had formed to leave such a dangerous relationship and companion. The zealous Father, after he had heard her general confession, encouraged her greatly and charged her to look for a house where she might live. This she did, but the man, blinded by his passion, used all the means he could command to bring her back to the old relationship, but she remained firm in her purpose, frequenting the Holy Sacraments and steadfastly rejecting the seductions, promises and threats that he would hang himself. She remained firm in her spirit of repentance and communicated everything to the Venerable Confessor, stating that she did not consider that she was safe in the house where she was, so that the servant of God, to save her from this danger, secured for her another house, with a devout woman, one of the leading persons of the city, who received her with special pleasure.

The man then tried to get her out of this house, but when he found that was impossible, one night, in his despair, he took a rope and going with it to the house, he hanged himself from the iron bars of the window, delivering up his soul to the demons. At that very moment in which he was dangling there the city was shaken by a great earthquake which frightened everybody. The next morning the body of the miserable creature was found hanging from the bars, and caused a general feeling of horror and alarm. This, of course, affected most noticeably the converted woman who, when she saw the spectacle (in imitation of St. Margaret of Cortona), cut off her hair, dressed herself in sackcloth, and walked through the streets of Antequera, crying out, and asking for the pardon of her sins and of the unholy life that she had lived. All were edified and wrought up in no small degree at the sight of such a strange conversion and penitence, and were none the less mindful of the divine judgment in view of the punishment which came upon that unhappy man. For this cause innumerable conversions were obtained, and therefore much fruit was gathered as a result of the Mission.

I might relate many other incidents, but the long narrative of the last labors in the life of the Venerable Father Junípero (in which this Apostolic man spared nothing to make them a success) is calling to me and does not permit me to linger for the recital of these minor incidents.

CHAPTER XII

The Journey to California with Fifteen Missionaries to Work There.

THE Holy Company of Jesus was suppressed in New Spain on the 25th of June of the year 1767. The Missions which these expelled Fathers had administered in Lower California were recommended by His Excellency the Viceroy, the Marquis de Croix (in accord with the Illustrious, Lord Inspector-General* of the Kingdom, Don José de Galvez) to the College of San Fernando of Mexico. The College felt itself under obligations to accept the charge in the name of God and the King (although it was at the time lacking in friars) and to send at once to Spain for a competent number of Missionaries.

There had been sixteen Jesuit Fathers in Lower California and an equal number were to go out to replace them. But as the Government had planned to put secular priests into four of the most advanced Missions, the officials asked our Rev. Father Guardian for only twelve friars to go out. The latter announced a call to the community and invited all to volunteer who had the heart for so arduous an enterprise, and he soon had the required number of Missionaries, who offered themselves voluntarily.

At this time our Rev. Fr. Junípero was conducting a Mission in the Province of Mesquital, about thirty leagues distant from Mexico. The Guardian chose him to be the President of the group of Missionaries, but the need of haste in starting did not leave him time to inquire first if he was willing to go, so, relying on his well-known fervor and spirit of obedience (the least insinuation he had always taken as a direct command), he simply wrote to him asking him to return at once to the College. This he did, arriving on the 12th of July, and as soon as he had received the blessing of the Reverend Fr. Guardian, he was informed that he had been named as one who was to accompany the other friars, assigned by the Discretory, to California. The servant of God accepted the appointment and with greater comfort of soul than any of the others, because he had not been asked even to say: "*Ecce ego, mitte me,*" but had been ordered to go by the Prelate without being asked as to his wish in the matter.

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* While "Visitador-General" might be translated Visitor-General, the term is misleading in English, hence at Father Englehardt's suggestion I use "Inspector-General" instead.

His Excellency the Viceroy had prepared all the equipment necessary for the journey by land of two hundred leagues to the port of San Blas, so that the Fathers would have some degree of comfort and would be provided against sickness on so long a journey through a hot country in the rainy season. His Excellency sent word to the Rev. Fr. Guardian that the Missionaries should be ready to start by the fourteenth of the month of July of the year 1767. The day came to bid farewell to the Community, and when the Prelate came to pronounce his blessing, he could hardly contain himself on account of all our tears and his. "You go," he said, "Fathers and beloved Brethren, with the blessing of God and with that of Our Holy Father, St. Francis, to work in that mystic vineyard of California which our Catholic Monarch has confided to us. Go, and go comforted with the thought that you have as your Superior the good Father Fr. Junípero, whom by this Patent I name as the President over Your Reverences and of all those Missions. and I have nothing more to say to you than that you should give to him the same faithful allegiance you would give to me, and I also ask that you continue to commend me to God." Here his voice was choked with the flood of tears which rained from his eyes, and delivering the Patent into the hand of the Venerable Father Junípero, the latter received it with all humility, without being able to speak a single word for the many tears he was shedding. The grief was the greater because we all felt that that good-bye was for eternity, so, kissing the hand of our Reverend Father Guardian, we went out on that day (on which is observed the feast of San Buenaventura) accompanied by the rest of the friars as far as the gate, where we found the whole square filled with people who had come to see us set out.

The journey to Tepic lasted thirty-nine days, counting the few spent in Querétaro and Guadalajara. Here we learned from His Grace the Bishop that he had no priests for California and also that none of the Missions was in condition to be ruled by secular priests and that he had communicated the fact to His Excellency the Viceroy. Our President, the Venerable Father, also wrote to the Venerable Guardian asking that his company be reinforced with more friars. This was done and the number of sixteen was completed and all were gathered in the Convent of the Holy Cross de Zacate in the above mentioned town of Tepic which is sustained by the Province of Jalisco of the Regular Observance of Our Holy Father St. Francis.

When the Venerable Father President arrived, on the 21st of August, he learned from the commander of the troop there stationed, from which a detachment was to be sent to California and Sonora, that the departure must be further delayed because of the time needed to finish constructing the two packet-boats intended to convey the whole party to California and Sonora. We were therefore obliged to remain in the town of Tepic for a time and were entertained at royal expense.

The fervent zeal of the Reverend Fr. Junípero could not allow so many friars as we were there gathered to remain idle and lose time which might be employed in the conversion of souls. So as soon as we had rested from the journey, he ordered that we conduct Missions in the neighborhood of San Blas, scattering ourselves about among the towns which have already been mentioned in a preceding chapter. In these exercises we were all employed until the beginning of March of the year 1768, when we embarked, as will be seen in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER XIII

All the Missionaries Embark. What Happened to his Reverence on his Arrival in California.

THE day came at last on which we were to embark on the packet-boat "Concepción" which had been at anchor in the port of San Blas since February, when it had arrived, bringing from Lower California the sixteen Jesuit Fathers, and in which we set sail on the 12th of March of the same year, 1768, having gone on board the night before. We were sixteen Missionaries from our College of San Fernando and of this Seraphic and Apostolic Squadron the Venerable Fr. Junípero Serra was the Commander. The trip was made without incident, and we anchored in the roadstead of Loreto on the night of April 1st, which was in that year Good Friday, and on the next day, Holy Saturday, we went ashore. Before scattering each one to the Mission to which we were severally assigned by the Venerable President, he ordered that we first celebrate together the first three days of Easter Week with a High Mass in honor of Our Lady of Loreto, patron of that Peninsula, as a thanksgiving for our safe voyage by sea and to implore her protection for the journey by land (which for the greater number would not be less than one hundred leagues), and on which we set out on the 6th of April.

When we had severally arrived at our destinations, we all tried to put into force the same order and government which had already been observed there in accordance with the orders received from His Excellency the Viceroy, so as not to alter in any way the situation until His Honor Don José de Galvez could arrive.

This gentleman embarked from the port of San Blas on the 24th of May, but the vessel was so much delayed in her voyage that he did not arrive on the peninsula until the 6th of July when he reached Ensenada de Cerralvo, in the southern part of [Lower] California, and there established a camp in a place called Santa Anna, one hundred leagues distant from the garrison of Loreto. He was under orders not only to visit the peninsula of California but also to dispatch a royal expedition by sea in order to colonize the port of Monterey or at least that of San Diego.

On being informed as to the condition of the Missions and of the situation of the most northerly of them, it seemed to His Honor that he could best realize the purpose of His Majesty if two expeditions were made, one by sea and one by land, that those going out from the last Mission should search for the harbor of San Diego and there unite with the sea expedition in the establishing of the colony.

His Honor communicated this well-studied plan to our Venerable Father (writing him from his camp at Santa Anna), and Father Junípero replied that he thought the plan a good one and that he was ready to go in person with either of the expeditions as well as to send a sufficient number of Missionaries to carry it out. Taking for granted that the Inspector-General would accept the proposition, he immediately set out to visit the Missions nearest to Loreto in order to invite the Fathers to the meeting and he also sent written invitations to those who were at a greater distance. In this trip our good Father walked more than one hundred leagues.

When he returned from his journey he found there the answer from Don José de Galvez in which that gentleman thanked him for his fervent zeal and his ready response, and requested that he come down to the camp at Santa Anna or to the port of La Paz, where he would find him, as he much desired to go over with him the whole matter of the expeditions. He immediately set out on the journey which, going and coming, is more than two hundred leagues, and if we add the other one hundred leagues which he had traveled in visiting the three Missions of the south, it makes a total of three hundred leagues which the Venerable Father traveled. He there took up the matter of the expeditions with the governor and they agreed that with the packet-boats should go three Missionaries, one on the first to sail and two later, and that two should go by land, one with the first caravan, and the Venerable Father President with the second, accompanying the Commander Governor, who was to take charge of it.

They determined to found three Missions, one in the port of San Diego, another in that of Monterey with the name of San Carlos, and the remaining Mission under the name of San Buenaventura, half way between the two ports. Having agreed upon this they set to work to arrange the vestments, sacred vessels and other necessary equipment for church and vestry, as also the things necessary for house and field, in order that all might go in boxes by sea, and that the other things might be furnished and sent by land from Loreto. In view of these arrangements which were very pleasing to the Venerable Father and quite in accord with his desires, he then named the Fathers who were to go by sea and sent word to them to come down to the port of La Paz, and to Cape San Lucas (which they did) and His Honor, the Inspector-General, helped personally in making these arrangements, doing the work of a common laborer.

As soon as the ships arrived from San Blas, the first one being the "San Carlos," which anchored in the above mentioned port of La Paz, and the "San Antonio," formerly called "El Principe," which on account of contrary winds had to anchor at Cape San Lucas, His Honor made a thorough examination of the ships to see if they were in readiness for the voyage and he ordered the Capitana (the flagship "San Carlos") to be unloaded. After having examined the ship's keel he determined to make some repairs and to recalk it; but as he had no rosin for this purpose his Christian piety was signally shown by his efforts not only to find a way to supply the need but with his own hands he set to work to provide the material, extracting it from the tree cactus (pitayos) when all other means seemed to have failed. With these repairs the vessels were satisfactorily made ready and he ordered them loaded with the provisions and other things which had been brought from San Blas, as well as with the other cargo which had been in storage in the port of La Paz.

His Honor also personally assisted the Venerable Father Junípero and Father Parron to pack the vestments, sacred vessels and other utensils of the church and vestry destined for the three Missions which were to be established first, and he boasted in a letter which he wrote me at that time that he was a better sacristan than Father Junípero, as he had boxed all the vestments and other things for his own Mission, as he called it, of San Buenaventura, much more rapidly than the servant of God had prepared those destined for his Mission of San Carlos, and that he had had to lend a hand in the latter work. At the same time in order that these Missions might be established under the same rules and methods employed in those of the Sierra Gorda, which had so pleased His Excellency the Viceroy, he ordered that all the other implements for the house and the field, together with the necessary tools, should be boxed and sent. He also provided a supply of all kinds of seeds, both of those growing in Old, as well as in New Spain, not forgetting to include the ones of lesser importance, such as vegetables, flowers and flax, as in his conception that country to which they were going was exceedingly fertile, and, as it was about the same latitude as Spain, would lend itself for the growing of these things. In this he was not deceived as we shall see later. He also determined that from the old Mission which was situated farthest north[12] the land expedition should take two hundred head of cows, bulls and oxen, in order to populate the new region with cattle and also that they might be used in cultivating the soil and in case of need, be used for food. This was done and the herd grew and has became wonderfully abundant.

When everything was in readiness, His Honor decided the day upon which the vessel was to sail, ordering that all the people should prepare for the voyage by receiving the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist.

This was done and the Rev. Father President pronounced a benediction upon the ship and the flags, giving them all his blessing after the Mass of Supplication in honor of the Holy Patriarch St. Joseph who had been named patron of the two expeditions by land and sea. He had also previously sent out a circular letter charging the Missionaries that every month, on the 19th day, they were to celebrate High Mass in all the Missions in honor of this most Holy Patriarch, concluding it with the litany of the saints, in order to obtain the most complete success for the expedition. After the Mass of Supplication had been celebrated, the Inspector-General made a general exhortation addressed to all the men in order to encourage them. Greatly moved by his words, they all embarked on the 9th of January of the year 1769 in the above mentioned flagship "San Carlos." The Rev. Father Fernando Parron accompanied those on board as their spiritual advisor.

Those who embarked on this maritime expedition were the following: Don Vicente Vila, Commander; a company of volunteer soldiers from Cataluña, composed of twenty-five men with its lieutenant, Don Pedro Fages; the engineer Don Miguel Constanzo, Don Pedro Prat, surgeon of the Royal Squadron, and all the necessary crew, with the corresponding naval officers. The vessel sailed on the 9th and on the same day the Rev. Father Fr. Junípero left the port by land for his Mission and the garrison of Loreto, in order to make the necessary preparations for the land expedition, stopping on his way at my mission, that of San Francisco Xavier, where he told me all that has been here related, his face alight with the joy and happiness of his heart.

The second ship destined for the expedition was the San Antonio, formerly called "El Principe," which, as has been said, had anchored at the Cape San Lucas on account of contrary winds. As soon as the Inspector-General heard of its arrival he ordered the captain to remain there as he intended to go to that point. On the same day in which the San Carlos left the port His Honor embarked in the packet-boat called "La Concepción" and he wrote to me telling of the departure of the other ship and that seeing he was not permitted to go with the expedition in order with his own hand to set up the standard of the Holy Cross in the port of Monterey, he wanted to accompany the ship at least as far as the Cape San Lucas, and that there he would go ashore and do what he could to help in the dispatching of the "San Antonio" without loss of time. This His Honor did, accompanying the flagship as far as San Lucas, where he had the pleasure of seeing her sail away under a good wind on the 11th of January of the year 1769.

As soon as His Honor had gone ashore at Cape San Lucas he began to hurry the departure of the "San Antonio"; but first of all he made the same careful examination of this ship that he had done of the "San Carlos," ordering her unloaded and repaired. As soon as she was quite ready he ordered her loaded not only with the things that had been brought from San Blas but also with the provisions of grain, meats and fish which he had had accumulated there with great foresight for this purpose. When everything was ready and the people had been prepared and fortified by the Sacrament of Penance and when the High Mass of Supplication had been offered in honor of San José he received the Holy Communion with them. And then this same gentleman, Don José Galvez, made an earnest speech, exhorting them to peace and union and imposing upon them all the duty of faithfulness and of obedience to their superiors, begging them to render all due respect to the Missionary Fathers, Fr. Juan Vizcayno and Fr. Francisco Gomez, who accompanied them as spiritual advisors. When the service was finished they all embarked on the 15th of February, and as this was the day of the Translation of San Antonio de Padua (patron of the vessel) they were recommended to his protection, that with all good fortune they might be carried to the port of San Diego or of Monterey. In this confidence they set out, His Honor having urged the captain of the ship, Don Juan Perez, from Mallorca, well known pilot of the Philippine line, not to lose a minute of time, as it was understood that the commander of the expedition, the captain of the "San Carlos," was under orders to go directly to the port of San Diego, and there to wait twenty days, and if in this interval the second ship had not arrived he was to leave some sign and then to go on to Monterey. The captain of this vessel was to do the same thing in case he did not find either the flagship in San Diego or the land expedition.

As soon as these two vessels had been dispatched the Inspector-General began the preparation of a third which was called the "San José," which had come from San Blas and anchored at Cape San Lucas. He ordered that it should be unloaded, carefully examined and all necessary repairs made as he had done with the other two. When this was accomplished he ordered the vessel to sail as far as the port of La Paz and there to wait for him, because before she sailed for San Diego he had to go to Loreto. While this packet-boat was making the voyage to the port of La Paz, His Honor set out by land, going around the whole of the cape along the shore until he came to the Mission of All Saints (Todos Santos) and then on to the town of Santa Anna. Having finished in these places his duties as Inspector-General he went on to La Paz and there embarked in a fishing-smack in order to serve as a convoy for the packet-boat San José on which had also embarked the two Missionary Fathers who had come from the College of San Fernando to take the place of the other two who had been sent with the second expedition.

They set out from La Paz in the middle of April and after a short voyage reached Loreto without incident and remained in that roadstead until the 1st of May, where His Honor was occupied in making the preparations necessary for the good order and discipline of the troop and garrison and for the Missions of the Indians. He founded here a school to prepare many of them for service in the navy. When he had finished his visit he embarked again on the same fishing-smack, the 1st day of May, in order to go to the roadstead of Santa Barbara of the Mayo river on the coast of Sonora, taking with him the packet-boat San José in order that it might receive here a part of the cargo which he had ordered prepared. Upon arriving here without further incident he went on to the camp of the Alamos in order to begin his visit among those provinces, and the packet-boat, as soon as it was loaded, returned to

Loreto for the rest of the cargo which was being prepared. On this ship it was planned that the Rev. Fr. Joseph Murguia was to embark, but on account of his very serious illness, which brought him to the point of death, the vessel sailed from Loreto without any friar on board on the 16th of June. Nothing further was ever heard from this ship nor was any fragment of it ever found, so it was supposed that it foundered on the high seas. I have anticipated somewhat in relating the story of these maritime expeditions in order to take up without interruption the story of the expeditions by land.

CHAPTER XIV

Preparations for the Land Expedition. The Departure of the Venerable Father from Loreto and His Arrival Among the Pagans. The Beginning of the First Mission.

WITH the same efficiency with which His Honor, the Inspector-General, attempted to fulfill the royal order of His Majesty for the colonizing of the port of Monterey, he put into operation as many means as he could find at hand for the carrying out of this noble enterprise. I have already spoken of his plan to send out in addition to the maritime expedition which His Majesty had ordered, a land expedition, in view of the fact that it could not be very far from the frontier of the Missions of Lower California to the above mentioned port of San Diego; and without neglecting the voyage by sea nor his duties as Inspector-General on the Peninsula he made the necessary provision for the land expedition with the hope that both might come together in that port (San Diego), and having established the colony be ready to pass on to found the one in Monterey.

As soon as His Honor determined to send out this second expedition, which would be quite as arduous as it was dangerous, not because of any danger from storm but because of the great mass of pagan people of different tribes living in savagery which must be met in the way, he decided, in imitation of the patriarch Jacob, to divide the company into two groups in order that if an accident should happen to the one the other might be saved. He named as first commander Don Gaspar de Portolá, captain of dragoons, and Governor of California, and as second in command Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, captain of the armored company of the garrison of Loreto. The latter was to command the first section and to act as explorer of that region unknown thus far to the Spaniards. He put the former, whom he had named Governor, in charge of the second section of the expedition.

Having made these assignments, he gave him (Rivera) necessary instructions for the trip. He told him that he should carefully choose from out the whole company of armored troops the number of soldiers which he thought it wise and proper to take, and if necessary to recruit others, and also to secure the muleteers necessary for the cargo and the baggage of the expedition. He also ordered that they make their way toward the frontier, passing through all the Missions, where they were to ask for as many mules and horses as they might find they needed, as well as whatever other loads of provision they might obtain in the way of meat, grain, flour, pinole, and hard-tack, leaving in each Mission a receipt for what they had taken in order that all might be paid for; and that with all this provision they were to make their way up as far as the frontier of Santa Maria de Los Angeles, taking also the two hundred head of cattle; and that he was to give a careful account of all that he did, as well as of the time required for the first expedition to set out.

Under these thorough directions (which were carefully fulfilled) the captain set out from Santa Anna in the month of September and having arrived at the place of our Lady of the Angels, which is on the frontier of paganism (where he also found a part of the freight which had already been sent up by small boats as far as the bay of San Luis), and having examined the territory and not finding it suitable for a camp on account of the absolute lack of fodder for the cattle, he reconnoitered in the neighborhood, penetrating into the country of the Indians, and God willed, after traveling eighteen leagues in the direction of San Diego, that he should find a very suitable place. Having brought all the freight there, as well as the cattle and the beasts of burden, he sent word to the Inspector-General (who was at that time busy in the south preparing the expedition by sea), advising him that he would wait there during the whole of the month of March before continuing the journey.

When the Venerable Father (who had named the Rev. Father Fr. Juan Crespi, Missionary of the Mission of the Immaculate Conception to accompany the expedition) received word from the commander, he wrote to the Father telling him to start at once in order that he might not be left behind. Father Crespi set out from the said Mission on the 26th of February of the year 1769, and arrived at the frontier at the place where the camp had been formed and which the Indians of the place called Vellicatá, on Wednesday in Holy Week, the 22d day of March, and found there the captain and all the people ready for their departure. And when all had made their confession to the Missionary from San Borja who had come up there for that purpose in order that on the next day, Holy Thursday, they might fulfill the precept of our Holy

Mother, the Church, and the day following, Good Friday, they were prepared to set out upon the expedition.

This was made up of the following persons: the Captain, who was the commander, Father Fr. Juan Crespi, a pilotin (an officer whose duty it was to take observations and to keep the diary), twenty-five armored[18] soldiers, three muleteers, and a squad of converted Indians from California, who went along as helpers to the muleteers and peons for whatever service might be required, all armed with bows and arrows. After spending fifty-two days on the road the company arrived without incident on the 14th of May at the port of San Diego where they found anchored in the harbor the two ships, as I will tell about later.

There had been left in the camp of Vellicatá for the second expedition the mules and horses with their respective freightage, the cattle and a part of the soldiery and muleteers who were to go with the expedition. The rest of the company were to accompany the Governor and the Venerable Father President, who had asked that gentleman to go on ahead, it being understood that he had to pick up some more freight by the way and that he leave behind two soldiers and a servant, as the Father would start off a little later and would catch up to the rest of the party before reaching the frontier. To this the Governor agreed and he set out from Loreto with the troop on the 9th of March. Having arrived at my Mission he told me about how very bad the foot and leg of the Rev. Father Junípero had become, since in the trips he had made in the south they had become very much worse. Indeed he believed that his foot had become cancered, and he doubted very much if this misfortune would permit him to make the long and difficult journey. He said: "In spite of what I have told him and the delay which he may cause to the expedition if he should become unable to proceed farther, he insists upon going and I have not been able to persuade him to remain behind and to let Your Reverence go in his stead. His reply has always been just what I have said and that he trusts in God that he will be given strength to go on not only to San Diego but to Monterey, that I am to go on ahead and that he will come up with me on the border of the territory of the pagans. It looks to me quite impossible for him to carry out this plan and so I have written to the Inspector-General." He begged me to write to the same effect (which I did) and he went on with his troop in the direction of the frontier. In the Mission of San Ignacio he received into his company Fr. Miguel de la Campa, who had been named to go along and take part in the Spiritual Conquest.

On the 28th of March, the Tuesday after Easter Sunday, our Venerable Father started out from the Mission and garrison of Loreto, after having celebrated, with all his accustomed devotion, the services of the Holy Week, and after having heard the confession of all the people of the Mission and of the garrison and administered Holy Communion to them in accordance with the ordinances of our Holy Mother Church. (It was on account of these duties that he had not been able to go with the company.) Having finished his task on the last day of Eastertide he sang High Mass, preached to the people, bade a last good-bye to all, and started out from Loreto, as we have said, with no other company than that of two soldiers and the servant. So he arrived at my Mission. But when I saw him and his swollen foot and leg with its ulcer I could not keep back my tears when I thought of how much he had still to suffer in the rough and difficult trails which he must traverse before reaching the frontier and the other unknown trails which he would have to traverse farther on, without other doctor or surgeon than the Divine aid, and without other protection for his lame foot than a sandal, as he never would use anything else in all the journeys which he took both in New Spain as well as in both Californias, saying that he could not use shoes or stockings or boots because it was better for him to have his foot and his leg bare.

He remained with me in the Mission for three days in order that we might enjoy one another's company and the reciprocal love which we had one for the other since the year 1740, in which I had been assigned to him as one of his pupils in philosophy. We had also much to talk about concerning the matters belonging to the Presidency, as I had been named in the Patent from our College as Vice-President and to serve as President in case of the death or the absence of the Venerable Fr. Junípero. But before treating of these matters I called his attention to the deplorable condition of his foot and leg and told him that naturally it would be impossible for him to take such a long journey and that he might be the cause of bringing disaster upon the expedition, and if not he would at least greatly retard it. I also said that while he went far ahead of me in his desires to take part in the Spiritual Conquest he was not my superior in the health and strength which were necessary for it and that in view of this situation he ought to remain behind and I ought to go.

As soon as he had heard my proposition he replied, using these words: "Let us not talk about it. I have put all my trust in God, from whose goodness I expect that it will be granted me not only to arrive at San Diego and to set up and dedicate in that port the standard of the Holy Cross, but also to go on to Monterey." I yielded to him when I saw that the fervent Prelate surpassed me greatly in his faith and trust in God, in his love for whom he was ready to sacrifice his life on the altar of his Apostolic labors. We went on to treat of other matters, and when we had finished he left the Mission to continue his journey. The pain of our good-bye was very greatly increased when I saw that in order to mount or dismount from the mule which carried him he needed the service of two men who lifted him up bodily and adjusted him in the saddle. His last word of farewell to me was: "Good-bye till I see you in Monterey, where I hope that we shall come together again to work in that vineyard of the Lord." I rejoiced in his hope for such a thing, but my good-bye was: "Until eternity." And when I had been affectionately scolded for my little faith he said that it had penetrated to his very heart.

He went on traveling from Mission to Mission visiting the Fathers, comforting them all and begging that they commend him to God. He had gone about fifty leagues from my Mission and was in that of our Lady of Guadalupe when I received the reply from the Inspector-General to the letter which I had sent him telling him of the ill-health of our Venerable Father, that I had been unable to detain him, and that it seemed to me doubtful if he would be able to keep up with the expedition. To this he replied that he had already taken up this matter with him in the camp of Santa Anna and in the port of La Paz, and that, knowing as he did his great spirit, he was sure, he said, that he could go on. "I am very glad that our Rev. Father Junípero is going with the expedition and I praise him for his great faith and confidence that he will get better, which, may God grant, and that he may arrive at San Diego. I fully believe that he will do so." And, indeed, as we shall see, it was not a false expectation. From this reply I lost all hope of being able to go with the expedition, so reconciling myself to the will of God I continued to ask of His mercy for the restoring to health of my Venerable Father, and for good success in his expedition.

With great labor, with no less fatigue, and with no relief from his painful disease, he was able to reach the camp of Our Lady of the Angels on the frontier and there to join the Governor and Fr. Miguel de la Campa. Having rested there three days they went on together with the troop, penetrating into the pagan territory until they came to the camp of Vellicatá where was gathered all the baggage and the freight and where they arrived on the 13th day of May.

CHAPTER XV

The Venerable Father Founds the First Mission Which He Dedicates to San Fernando, and then Leaves with the Expedition for the Port of San Diego.

DURING the time that the troop was detained in the camp called by the natives of that region Vellicatá, there was abundant opportunity to explore the whole region round about as well as for the construction of some little houses to act as a shelter from the storms. They also constructed a little chapel in which the Reverend Father Fr. Fermin Lasuen celebrated Mass when he went there to hear the confessions of the people of the first detachment during the Lenten season. When His Honor the Governor and the Father President and Fr. Miguel de la Campa arrived there on the 13th of May, as we have recorded in the previous chapter (which was the day just preceding Pentecost), it seemed wise to establish there a Mission as the place lent itself well to the purpose. The more so because the soldiers who had been there for several months with the cattle and horses had reconnoitered the country for several leagues about. For this reason and because it was within easy communication between San Diego and Old California, and also because the nearest Mission to that place was San Francisco de Borja, at least sixty leagues distant and over a rather desert region which lacked water, they resolved to make here the center of a new establishment.

Having settled on this, but not being able to remain, as there was urgent need for them to proceed to San Diego, they agreed that on the next day (May 14th), which was Pentecost, they should take possession of the land in the name of their Catholic Monarch and make the beginning of the Mission. As soon as this resolution was reached, the soldiers, servants and muleteers set to work to clean out the room which was to be used for the chapel, and they also brought decorations and hung up the bells. A great cross was also prepared.

The next day, which was May 14th and the feast of the Holy Spirit, the first step toward the founding of the Mission was taken. The

Venerable Father, vested in alb and cope, blessed the water and with it sprinkled the chapel, the yard, and the Holy Cross which had been venerated by all, and set up in front of the chapel. He named as Patron of the Mission the same Patron Our College has,— the Holy King of Castile and Leon, San Fernando. He also named as resident Missionary of it the Rev. Father Miguel de la Campa Coz. Having sang there the first Mass, he delivered a fervent discourse on the coming of the Holy Spirit and on the establishing of the Mission. When the Holy Sacrifice had been concluded (which was celebrated with no other candle than the light of a taper and another little piece of a candle, owing to the fact that the freight in which was the wax had not come) he sang the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, supplying the place of an organ or any other musical instrument by the continual shooting of the soldiers who discharged their guns for this purpose, the smoke from them also taking the place of the incense.

Owing to the haste with which the expedition had to go on, the Venerable Father Founder did not have the satisfaction of celebrating here the first baptism as he did in the other ten Missions which he established, but before God he should not lose the merit of the many pagans who were converted to His Divine Majesty. For within the next four years and when the Mission was delivered to the Reverend Dominican Fathers, there were two hundred and ninety-six newly received Christians of all ages, as was shown by the register which I myself delivered to those same Fathers and which, after being signed by them, was sent to His Excellency the Viceroy. As the good Father Junípero had remained here three days, God willed it that he should see a group of the very same pagans who afterwards were to receive Holy Baptism and so be permitted to rejoice in the hope of success, as is manifest he did in the expressions found in his diary and which I insert here, seeing that there is no room for it all in this "Account," as that would make too voluminous this story of his life.

"The 15th of May, second of the Feast of the Holy Spirit and second of the founding of the Mission, after the two Masses which Father Campa and I celebrated, I have been greatly comforted because after the two Masses were over, while I was in retirement in the little hut which had been given me for a sleeping-place, word was brought that some of the pagans had come and were even then drawing near. I praised God, kissed the ground, giving God thanks that after so many years of ardent desire, it had been granted to me to find myself in the midst of these people in their own land. I went out immediately and there met twelve of them, all of them men, and tall, with the exception of two who were boys, one about ten years old and the other about sixteen. I saw then that which I had read about and could never scarcely believe, that these men went about as completely naked as was Adam in Paradise before he had sinned. So they went about and so they presented themselves, and during the long time we were treating with them, though they noticed that we were dressed, they did not seem to have the least particle of shame on appearing before us naked. I placed my hand, as a sign of affection, on the head of each and filled their two hands with dried figs which they immediately began to eat. We also received, with every sign of appreciation, the gift which they presented, a net of maguey [agave] fiber and four fish, rather large and very handsome, but as the poor fellows had not taken the pains to dress them and much less salt them, our cook said they were no longer serviceable. Father Campa also presented them with some figs. The Governor gave them tobacco in the leaf; all the soldiers showed them kindness and invited them to eat with them, and through an interpreter I made them understand that there would remain there permanently one of the Fathers, the same whom they saw there and that his name was Father Miguel, that they should come, together with the rest of the people to visit him and to let the word go out that they were not to be afraid nor suspicious as the Father would be their friend and that those soldiers who were to remain there with the Father would do them much good and no harm; but that they were not to steal the cattle which we allowed to roam the country; but rather in case they were in need, to come and ask of the Father and he would give them what they asked whenever he could. All these observations they received apparently with satisfaction and made signs to show they assented to everything so that it seemed to me the time was not far away when the Apostolic net could be cast and the people evangelized.

So it came to pass as we shall see. Then the Governor said to the one who acted as the leader, that if hitherto he had not had the title of Captain, as a rank given him by his own people, that from that day he made him the Captain, granting him the authority in the name of our lord the King.

When the Governor perceived that very soon the pagans would gather about this first Mission, he carried into effect the order which he had from the Inspector-General, namely: to deliver to the Father charged with the teaching the fifth part of the cattle. These Father Campa received in the name of his future children, marking the animals so that he could distinguish them from the rest of the herd still there and which were destined for the Mission of Monterey, as it seemed wise to leave these latter here until he could be sure as to the success of the expeditions. He also left with Father Campa forty *fanegas* of corn, a bag of flour and another of hard-tack, chocolate, figs and raisins in order that he would have something to give as presents to the Indians in order to attract them. He also left as a guard an escort of soldiers with their corporal, and on the 15th day, in the afternoon, the expedition set out, although it traveled only three leagues.

During the three days of resting in Vellicatá, our good Father had not felt any inconvenience from his foot, perhaps because the joy and the distractions of the founding of the Mission had caused him to forget his pains. But it was not so when he was again on the march, and during the journey of three leagues his foot swelled so badly, and also his leg, that it seemed to be cancered. The pain increased and became so intense that he could not find any easement from it. However, he said nothing about it till he had made another day's journey, also of three leagues and they had come to the camp of San Juan de Dios. Here he found himself suffering so severely from his malady that he could not stand, nor even sit, but had to lie prostrate in his bed, enduring such an agony of pain that he could not sleep or rest.

When the Governor saw what a plight he was in he said: "Your Reverence well knows that you cannot accompany the expedition. We are only six leagues from the place from which we set out. If your Reverence will permit, they can carry you back to the first Mission in order that you may there become well again, and we will go on our journey." But our Venerable Father, who never gave up hope, replied in this manner: "Please do not speak to me further about the matter, because I trust in God who will give me strength to arrive at San Diego, as he has given me strength to come this far, and in case this is not His good pleasure for me, I shall resign myself to His holy will. Even if I die on the road I will not go back, but you can bury me here and I shall very gladly remain among these pagan people if such be the will of God for me."

When the Governor saw the firmness of the Reverend Father, and that neither on foot nor on horseback was he able to travel, he ordered a litter made in the form of the bier used for the carrying of the dead, using small branches for the bed of it, in order that on it the Father might lie down and be carried by the converted Indians from California who were accompanying the expedition as servants and laborers for just this kind of service. When the Venerable Father heard of this he was much grieved about it in view of the extra labor which it would cause and the extra burden they would have to bear, and it hurt his very humble spirit to be served in this way. With this added distress, he withdrew within himself to commune with God and to ask that He would grant him some slight alleviation, in order to avoid the trouble which he would give to the Indians if they had to carry him in this way. Reviving his faith and his trust in God he called to him that afternoon one of the muleteers, called Juan Antonio Coronel, and said to him: "My son, don't you know how to make me a remedy for my foot and leg?" But the man replied: "Father, what do I know about remedies? Am I a surgeon? I am only a muleteer and I only know how to cure the galls on the backs of the pack-animals."

"Very well, then, my son, take into account that I am one of your beasts of burden and that this sore is a gall-sore from which has resulted the swollen leg. The pains I feel are so great that I cannot sleep, so please make the remedy and apply it just as if I was one of your animals."

At this the muleteer laughed, as did all the rest, but he replied: "I will do it, Father, in order to give you pleasure."

Taking a little tallow, he crushed it between two stones and then mixed it with some of the herbs of the field which he found at hand, and having heated it well, he applied it to the leg and foot, leaving it placed over the sore like a poultice. God worked through this so wonderfully that (as our servant of God said in a letter written to me from San Diego) he slept well that night until daybreak and awoke so much better from his pains and from the sore that he could arise and take part in the Matins and Praise, as was his custom, and when he had finished the prayers he said Mass as if he were not suffering from any malady. All were astonished, both the Governor as well as all the rest of the troop, to see the Reverend Father so suddenly restored to health and in such good cheer, ready to go on with the expedition and without obliging it on his account to be further delayed.

The expedition went on its way, following the trail of the first section, which was the same as that traversed three years previously by Father Wenceslao Link (according to the testimony of the soldiers who accompanied him on his expedition to the Colorado River) as far as the place which the Father just mentioned called "La Cieneguilla," distant from the new Mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá twenty-five leagues to the north. From the above mentioned place he followed the trail of the former expedition in the same direction, seeking for the mouth of the Colorado River but to which they were not able to arrive because (as he says in his diary which he sent on to His Excellency the Viceroy) a little while after leaving Cieneguilla, they found in front of them a high Sierra, all of stone where the pack-animals could not travel, so they were obliged to return to the frontier Mission called San Borja from which the expedition had set out.

The members of our expedition were aware of all this, through the information given by some of the soldiers who had gone in it and had accompanied the Jesuit Father, as well as from data which his own diary supplied and which was in the possession of the Venerable Father Junípero. At any rate, as our expeditions did not intend to reach the Colorado River, but the port of San Diego, they turned aside from the northern route at Cieneguilla, and, taking to the northwest they made their way down to the coast of the great sea, the Pacific, and found no difficulty in reaching San Diego, where they arrived on the first of July after having spent in the voyage from the Mission of San Fernando forty-six days.

When the members of the expedition came in view of the harbor, it seemed as though immediately their hearts were filled with a great joy as was demonstrated by the troops shooting off their guns. These were answered by corresponding shots from those of the first expedition which had arrived on the same day on which in Vellicatá they had celebrated the founding of the first Mission called San Fernando. This salute of arms was augmented by the salvos from the ships which were lying in the harbor, and which were repeated until all had dismounted and had shown by their affectionate embraces their mutual affection and their great joy to see that all the expeditions had gathered at the place destined and toward which they had all so ardently looked.

The services which were celebrated in the port as soon as there had arrived there the Commander and Governor, together with the Reverend Father President, will be told in the succeeding chapter, and as well will be given there a letter which my venerable Father Lector Fr. Junípero wrote me on his arrival and in which he informed me as to the journey and the dispositions and determinations made by the Governor with reference to the movements on both sea and land.

CHAPTER XVI

Copy of the Letter of the Venerable Father, and What Was Determined upon in San Diego as to the Expedition.

LONG live Jesus, Mary and Joseph — R. F. Lector and President, Fr. Francisco Palou — Dearly beloved Sir and Brother: I sincerely hope you are in good health and doing your work with all happiness and contentment in the colony of the new Mission of Loreto, as well as in the others, and that before long the reinforcements of new friars will arrive so that all may be established in good order and for the comfort of all.

Thanks to God, I arrived here at this port of San Diego the day before yesterday, the first day of the month. It is truly a beautiful port and well deserving of its fame. Here I caught up with all those who had gone out first, both by sea and by land, except those who had died. Here are our companions the Fathers Crespi, Viscaino, Parron, Gomez and myself, and all well, thank God. Here are the two ships: the "San Carlos" without a crew, for all have died of scurvy, only one having remained, who is the cook. The "San Antonio," formerly called "El Principe," whose captain is Don Juan Perez, a countryman from the shores of Palma, though having sailed a month and a half afterwards, arrived here twenty days before the other. Just as she was on the point of sailing for Monterey, the "San Carlos" arrived, and in trying to succor those who were on board sick the sailors of the other vessel became infected and eight of them died, and so it is that the "San Antonio" is to return from here to San Blas in search of sailors for its own crew as well as that of the "San Carlos," and on returning, both will start out. We shall see how it goes with the "San José" and if this packet-boat arrives in the meantime, it will be the first to sail north.

The serious disaster on board the "San Carlos" has been due to two things: The first, because of the poor barrels from which the water had leaked out without being seen, so that from four barrels, not enough water was had to fill one, so they had to come to land to obtain water and what they found was not good and from drinking it the men were soon taken sick. The second reason was that, by an error in which we all were, both His Excellency the Viceroy as well as all the rest, this port was supposed to be at latitude 33 or 34 degrees, north. So at least the authors say, one stating one thing and others another. For this reason the command had been to put well out to sea and to sail north as far as latitude 34, and then to make for the land in search for the port. But as, in reality, the latitude of this place is only 32 degrees, 34 minutes, according to the observations just taken here by the captains, it will be seen that the ship went too far north and when they looked for the port they could not find it. For this reason the voyage was prolonged, and as the crew were already very sick, the cold climate affected them, and as they had to go on using the bad water they came to such a state that if they had not soon come to port, they would have all died, because they were not able to man the launch in order to go ashore to obtain better water, or to let go the anchor, or manage the sails. The Fr. Fernando worked faithfully with the sick and although he is very thin, he is in good health. But as I want him to come out all right, I will not let him go to sea again, and he is glad to remain here.

I am also writing by this same post to His Excellency, the Viceroy, and to our Father, the Commissary General, and for this reason I am somewhat tired, and if it had not been that Captain Perez, seeing me so busy has also found something to do, I believe he would have gone away, without permitting me to write with profit. As regards the journey of Father Fr. Juan Crespi with the Captain, he says that he is writing to your Reverence by this same boat and so I do not have to treat of that matter. As for myself, the journey has been in fact a very happy one and without any special break or incident in my health. When I left the frontier, I was very bad with my leg and foot, but God saw to it (this expression refers to the remedy applied by the muleteer) that each day I should get a little better, and I was able to continue my journey as if nothing were the matter. At present my foot is entirely well, but from the ankle half way up the calf of the leg there is a bad sore like there was formrely on my foot, but there is no swelling nor do I have any pain, only an itching sensation at times which is not worth speaking of.

I have not suffered hunger or want, nor have the Indian converts that came with us lacked anything, but they have all arrived healthy and fat. I have kept my diary and will send you a portion of it at my earliest opportunity. The Missions in the territory through which we have come are all in good condition, with good lands and good water-supply. Up this way, and for a long way back, there are no stony roads nor thorns, but there are plenty of hills and some of them very high, but they are covered with soil. The roads are some of them fairly good, but mostly of the other sort, but not so very bad. At about half way in the road, or more, there begin to be many gullies and valleys which are grown up with trees. There are lots of grape-vines, some of them very large and loaded with grapes. In some of the gullies along the road and in the camps where we stopped, beside the grape-vines we saw many rose-bushes. In short, it is a good country, very much different from that of Old California.

Counting from the 21st of May, on which we set out from San Juan de Dios, as I wrote to your Reverence, until the 1st of July, when we arrived here, there should be subtracted at least eight days which we spent in allowing the animals to rest, one day here and another day there, but beside that we have travelled continuously. But even the longest journey was only six hours and there were only two days in which we did that, the rest being of four, four and a half, of three, of two, and of one and a half hours, as I have expressed each day in my diary, and of course we went no faster than the pack-animals travelled. From this it can be reckoned that with better outfit and better roads a great many unnecessary leagues could be cut off, so that it isn't so very far, and I believe that after making the proper preparations it would be a matter of some twelve days' journey for the Fathers to come hither from the frontier of Vellicatá, and the soldiers say they could make it in less.

There are immense numbers of the native pagans and all those of this coast (on the Pacific), among whom we have come, beginning with those of la Ensenada of Todos Santos, as it is called on the maps and charts, live very well provided for, with their different crops and with the fishery which they carry on in their rush canoes, with which they go far out to sea. They are very affable, and all the men, large and small, go about naked; the women and girls are modestly dressed, as are even the babies. They used to come up with us on the roads, as well as in our camp, and treat us with the greatest confidence and signs of good will as if they had known us all their lives. When we wished to give them something to eat they would generally answer that they did not want that but that they would like some clothing, and only for articles of this sort would they make their exchanges of fish and other things with the soldiers and muleteers. All along the way could be seen jackrabbits, rabbits, now and then a deer, and a great many antelope.

The Land expedition, the Governor tells me, he wishes to go on from here under the charge of the captain in three or four days, and he will leave us here with eight leather-jacketed soldiers as a guard, and some of the Spaniards who are sick, if they get better, will serve us in the same way. The Mission has not yet been established, but I am going to see to that very soon. * * * My Friend, I had gotten this far when the captain came to me to say that he could not wait any longer without serious loss, and so I finish by saying that the Fathers who are here send you many kind regards, that we are all well and happy; and I send kind regards to Father Martinez and to the other Companions to whom I wanted to write, but have not been able to, and I hope I can soon. This letter I am including in one I am sending to Father Ramos who, the captain tells me, is going toward the south, in order that he may read it and send it on to you. May God keep you in life and health for many years. From this port and from the soon-to-be-established new Mission of San Diego in Northern California, July 3, 1769. I kiss the hand of your Reverence.

Your affectionate brother and servant,

FR. JUNÍPERO SERRA.

As the packet-boat "San Antonio," formerly called "El Principe," arrived at the port of San Diego and the "San Carlos" twenty days later, the naval expedition joined itself to the land expedition, the first detachment of which, under the command of the captain, arrived there on the 14th of May, and the second detachment under the charge of the Governor, on the 1st of July. In this place both of the commanders called a council in order to confer and to determine what should be done in view of the fact that so very few of the seamen had remained alive and free from the contagious malady which broke out on board the flagship and which affected not only the crew but also the troop which had come from California. On this account it was not possible to carry out the instructions which had been received from the Visitor General. In view of all the circumstances the council finally resolved that the packet-boat "San Antonio," under the charge of its captain Don Juan Perez, with such of the crew as were capable of going to sea, should return without delay to the port of San Blas, not only to give an account to the Superior Council but in order to bring back the sailors that were needed for the manning of both ships. This was done, and the vessel sailed on the 9th of July, and after some days arrived at San Blas with very few men, as nine of them died on the way and their bodies had to be buried at sea.

It was also determined that all the sick ones, both soldiers and sailors, should remain in the hospital in the port of San Diego, with a few of those who were well enough to take care of them under the direction of the French surgeon, Don Pedro Prat: that the flagship "San Carlos" should remain at anchor, and on board, the captain, Don Vicente Vila, the pilot, with some four or five of the convalescent sailors, it being understood that as soon as the third packet-boat, San José, should arrive, it should be left here at anchor with only the men needed to care for it and that the rest of them, going on board the flagship and so properly equipping it, should set out for Monterey, where the land expedition which was to set out as soon as "El Principe" had sailed, would wait for it.

All necessary preparations were made including food and other things that were thought necessary for a voyage into unknown territory and which all thought would be a long one. The provisions and the loads of utensils belonging to church, house and field, which the expeditions had brought to this point, were left in San Diego, under the guardianship of eight leather-jacketed soldiers.

In view of what had been decided upon by the above mentioned gentlemen our Venerable Father President named, out of the five Fathers who were now in San Diego, Fr. Juan Crespi and Fr. Francisco Gomez to go with the land expedition destined for Monterey, and the Venerable Father, with the other two, Fr. Juan Vizcaino and Fr. Fernando Parron, were to remain in San Diego until the packet-boat, San José, should arrive, as it had been determined that our servant of God was to embark on the first ship going to Monterey.

As soon as "El Principe" had sailed away on the 9th, as we have said, a day was set on which the land expedition was to set out and this was chosen by the commander to be the 14th, the day in which the Seraphic Doctor, San Buenaventura is honored. He named the following sixty-six persons to accompany him: The Governor, Don Gaspar de Portalá, first commander, with his servant, the two Fathers above mentioned, and two converted Indians from Old California for body servants, Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, captain and second commander, with a sergeant and twenty-six men of the company of leather-jacketed soldiers, Don Pedro Fages, lieutenant of the volunteer company of Cataluña, with the seven remaining soldiers who were in condition for the journey, (the rest of them either having died, or were left behind in San Diego sick), Don Miguel Constanso, engineer, seven muleteers and fifteen of the converted California Indians for peons and helpers for the muleteers in driving the train of mules which were to carry all the provision which they thought sufficient in order that they might not suffer hunger or need, following in this way the repeated instructions of the Visitor General.

When all these preparations had been made and when the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass had been celebrated by all the Fathers in honor of the most Holy Patriarch, San José, as patron of the expeditions, and in honor of the Seraphic Doctor, San Buenaventura (whose day it was), the expedition set out from San Diego, going in a northwesterly direction and within sight of the Pacific Ocean, the coast of which here extends in this direction. The departure took place at four in the afternoon and they had to make camp after traveling scarcely two leagues and a half. The curious reader who may desire to know more about this journey is referred to the extensive diary which Father Juan Crespi kept on the road, as he took the pains, whenever they stopped at night, to write out what had happened each day, with all the little incidents. I do not insert this diary here as I wish to avoid prolixity and because these labors do not properly belong to those of the Venerable Father Junípero, and so I pass on to relate what happened in San Diego while the expedition was gone to make its explorations in the direction of the port of Monterey.

CHAPTER XVII

The Founding of the Second Mission [the First in Alta or Nueva California], That of San Diego, and What Happened in It.

THAT ardent zeal which ever burned and consumed the heart of our Venerable Father Fr. Junípero did not permit him to forget the principal object of his coming. And it was this which impelled him, on the second day after the departure of the expedition, to make a beginning toward the preaching of the gospel in this Mission and port of San Diego, which had been discovered since the year 1603, and which had been so named by the Admiral Don Sebastian Vizcaino.* He made the service for the foundation of the Mission to consist of High Mass and the other ceremonies, which were also celebrated in the founding of the Mission of San Fernando, on the 16th of July, the day on which we Spaniards celebrate the Triumph of the Most Holy Cross. For he hoped that exactly as through the power of that sacred emblem the Spaniards had gained a great victory over the barbarous Mohammedans, in the year 1212, they might also win a victory by raising the standard of the Holy Cross, and, putting to flight all the army of hell, bring under subjection to the gentle yoke of our Holy Faith all the savage tribes of pagans who inhabited this New California; and besides, he implored the special patronage of the Most Holy Mary, who on this day is honored by the Universal Church under the title of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. Moved by this ardent faith and zeal for the saving of souls, the Venerable Father Junípero raised the standard of the Holy Cross, fixing it in the place which seemed to him most appropriate for the building of the city, within sight of the harbor. The Missionaries in charge were our Venerable Father and Fr. Fernando Parron. The few men who were well enough to be about, in the intervals when not called upon to attend the sick, were kept busy in the construction of little shacks. As soon as a place had been prepared and dedicated for the provisional church they tried to attract to it with gifts and expressions of affection the pagans who came about; but as they could not understand our language they paid no attention to anything but the receiving of gifts from us, and they took everything with eagerness except food, which on no condition would they touch, so that if any little boy happened to put a piece of sugar in his mouth he would spit it out as if it were poison. They naturally attributed the sickness of our men to the things they ate, as they were things they had never seen. This was, indeed, a singular Divine Providence, for if they had had the same desire for our food which they had for our clothing, the little group of Spaniards in the colony would surely have been left to starve to death.

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* This date is in error. See Appendix.

However great may have been their aversion to our food, no less intense was their desire to possess themselves of our raiment, they going so far as to steal everything of this sort they could lay hands upon. They went to such an extreme that even the sails of the ship were not safe from their hands. One night the men on board found that they had come out in their canoes and were cutting pieces out of one of the sails, and on another occasion cutting up a rope, in order to carry them off. This made it necessary to put a watch of two soldiers on board (taking them from the eight which had been left) and with the fear of these men the vessel was protected. However, this diminished the guard at the Mission and especially on Holy Days when it was necessary for one of the Fathers to go on board to celebrate Mass, taking with him two of the soldiers as an escort in case he should be attacked by any of the pagans.

All these movements they watched most attentively, but were ignorant of the force of our firearms and they had great confidence in the fact that they greatly outnumbered us, and in the virtue of their arrows and wooden sabers which could cut almost like steel, and their other arms, such as war-clubs, with which they could do much damage. So they began to steal things without any sign of fear and when they saw that this was not permitted them they decided to try their fortunes with us, taking all our lives and carrying off the spoils. This they attempted on the 12th and 13th of August, but when they found they were met with resistance they had to retire.

On the 15th of the same month in which is celebrated the Great Festival of the Glorious Assumption of our Queen and Lady of the Heavens, as soon as two of the soldiers had gone with the Rev. Fr. Fernando on board ship to say Mass, leaving only four of the soldiers on shore, just as the Venerable Father President and the Father Viscaino had finished celebrating the Holy Sacrifice in which some of the men had received Communion, a great number of the pagans, all armed for battle, fell upon us and began to steal everything they could find, taking away from the poor patients in the hospital even the sheets that covered them. The corporal raised the cry, "To arms!" and when their enemies saw the soldiers in the act of arming themselves with their leather jackets and shields (a defence easily able to turn aside their arrows), and that at the same time they were taking up their guns they drew off and began to discharge their arrows. At the same time the four soldiers, the carpenter and the blacksmith discharged their weapons with great valor; but the blacksmith excelled them all for without doubt the Holy Communion which he had just received filled him with extraordinary courage and though he had no leather jacket to protect him he went about among the houses and shacks crying out, "Long live the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and let these dogs of enemies die the death," firing at the same time upon the pagans.

The Venerable Father President, with his companion, was at the time within the little house used for a chapel, commending all to God and praying that there might be no death among the men, and also praying to spare the lives of the pagans that they might not die without baptism. The Father Viscaino, wishing to see if the Indians had retired, raised a little way the agave mat which served as a curtain, or door, to the room, but he had scarcely done so when an arrow pierced his hand, and with that he let the curtain fall again and gave himself up to prayer, as did Father Junípero. Though he afterwards was healed of the wound, he always remained crippled in that hand.

The battle continued and the noise of shots mingled with the cries of the pagans. Suddenly the servant called Joseph María, who personally attended on the Fathers, rushed into the little shack, and, falling down at the feet of our Venerable, cried out: "Father, absolve me, for the Indians have killed me." No sooner had he received absolution than he died, as his throat had been pierced by an arrow. The Missionaries kept his death a secret and the pagans never knew of it. From among them several fell and when the rest saw the terrible destruction made by the firearms and the valor of the Christians, they quickly retired with their wounded, without leaving one on the ground in order to prevent us, as they supposed they could, from knowing if any had been killed in the combat. Two of the Christians had been wounded, besides Father Viscaino, one of them a jacketed soldier, an Indian from Old

California and the valiant blacksmith, but the wounds were not of great seriousness and all were soon well with the exception of the servant boy, whose death was kept a secret.

From among the pagans, although they kept secret the number of the dead, we knew that quite a number had been wounded, because after a few days they came back seeking for peace, and asking to be doctored, a service which the good surgeon very gladly did them, and they recovered. This charity which they noted in us could not help forcing them to hold us in esteem and the sad experience of their unhappy attempt to rob us filled them with fear and respect for us so that they behaved quite differently than before, for while they continued to visit the Mission with frequency, they did not bring in their arms.

Among those who came frequently was a young Indian of about fifteen years, who got to coming every day and he became accustomed to eat whatever the Fathers gave him, without any fear of consequences. Father Junípero tried to favor him and encourage him to learn our language so as to see if through him he might not bring about the baptism of some of the children. Several days passed and when at last the Indian boy understood somewhat, the Father told him to try to bring to him some little baby, with the consent of its parents, as he would make him a Christian like ourselves by putting a little water on his head, and in that way he would become a child of God and of the Father and a brother to the soldiers (whom they called *Cueres*) who would also give him clothing that he might go about dressed like the Spaniards. With these expressions and others which the zealous Father easily conjured up for the occasion, it seems that the Indian understood and communicated the same to the rest, for within a few days he returned with one of the pagan men (accompanied by many others), who brought in his arms a child and indicated by signs that he was willing to have it baptized. Filled with great joy, our Venerable Father immediately gave him a piece of cloth with which to cover the child, invited the corporal to act as sponsor and the other soldiers to be present in order to duly solemnize this first baptism. The Indians of course were all present. As soon as the Father had finished the ceremonies, and was in the act of pouring out the water of baptism, the pagan snatched away the child and ran away to their village, leaving the Father standing with the shell in his hand. Here it was necessary for him to use all his prudence not to become incensed at the rude act and it was only respect for him which prevented the soldiers from attempting to avenge the profanation, but considering the savagery and ignorance of the poor, miserable creatures it was necessary to overlook the offense.

So great was the sorrow of our Venerable Father at having been frustrated in the baptizing of the child that for many days he went about with his countenance full of the pain and the sorrow he felt, as he attributed the failure to his own sins. Even after the lapse of years, whenever he told the story, he would have to stop to dry the tears which started from his eyes and he would generally end by saying: "Let us thank God that now so many of them have received baptism without the least repugnance." So it was that in that Mission of San Diego the number reached one thousand and forty-six who were baptized, counting children and adults, whose salvation was due to the Apostolic labors of our Venerable President, and among them were many of those same who at the first had tried to take his life.

Very different was the lot of one of the men who had taken an important part in this attack on the Mission. Far from imitating the rest in repentance, he became set in his pagan errors and was one of the principal movers in the mutiny of the year 1775, and of which I shall speak in its place as well as of those others who had a part in the cruel death and martyrdom of the Venerable Fr. Luis Jayme. Having been taken prisoner for his part in this last crime and placed with others in the jail of the garrison, he was there visited by the Venerable Father Junípero, who had come down to that port in August of the year 1776. The Father wished to bring to the prisoners some comfort as well as to convert them to our Holy Faith. The sergeant pointed out to our Father this miserable pagan (he was with the rest in the stocks), saying that he was the same one who had tried, in the year 1769, to take the life of his Reverence and of the others in the first days of the founding of the Mission. Then it was that the ardor and zeal of our Venerable Father overflowed in a flood of exhortation and loving appeal toward this unhappy mortal, begging him to become a Christian and assuring him that in case he did, God our Lord and the King would undoubtedly pardon his crimes. But he was unable to obtain a single word from him, although the other prisoners, greatly moved to tears, begged the servant of God to intercede for them, saying they wanted to become Christians (as indeed they did later). But this unhappy gentile, having committed suicide, was found dead on the morning of the 15th of August of 1776 (exactly seven years from the date of the attack), it being a cause of great wonderment to all that while at the side of his companions he should be able to put a rope around his neck and hang himself without letting any one among the prisoners know of it and much less the guard. All were astonished not only at the disastrous end of the unhappy man but that it should happen on the day of the Assumption of Our Lady and just seven years from the time he and his companions had tried to kill the Venerable Father Junípero and those who accompanied him, which would have frustrated many great Spiritual Conquests, as we shall see later.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Expedition Returns to San Diego without Having Found the Port of Monterey. The Effect which this Unexpected News Caused.

ON the 24th of January of the year 1770 the land expedition which had left on the 14th of July of the previous year returned to San Diego after having spent six months and ten days on the way, where they suffered many hardships, as my beloved companion Father Fr. Juan Crespi tell us in his diary, and bringing the sad news that they had not found the port of Monterey in which the naval expedition of Admiral Don Sebastian Viscaino had anchored in the year 1603, during the Viceroyship over New Spain of the Duke of Monterey; but that they had arrived at the port of our Holy Father (St. Francis) San Francisco, forty leagues farther to the northwest.

The Reverend Fr. Juan Crespi, who went with the expedition, in the letter which he writes, telling this news, adds that they suspected the port had been filled up, because they found there some very large sand-dunes or sand-hills on the coast. As soon as I read this news I attributed it to the Divine Providence, because the failure of the expedition to find the port of Monterey in the place in which the old chart indicated caused them to go on until they reached the port of our Holy Father, San Francisco, as we shall see in the narrative.

When the Venerable Father Fr. Junípero had discussed with His Honor, the Inspector-General, concerning the first three Missions which he ordered to be founded in New California, on seeing the names and the patrons to whom they were assigned, he said to him, "Sir, is there to be no Mission for our Father St. Francis?" To this the other replied, "*If St. Francis wants a Mission, let him cause his port to be discovered and a Mission for him shall be placed there.*"

The expedition went up the coast, actually arrived at the port of Monterey and stopped there and planted a Cross without any one of those belonging to the expedition recognizing the place, although they had read all the indications and land-marks given in the history. They went on forty leagues farther until they came to the port of our Father

St. Francis, which they all immediately recognized, because of the agreement between the land-marks and the indications given in the history. In view of this, what more can we say than that our Holy Father evidently desired a Mission erected at his port?

So, at least, must have thought His Honor, the Inspector-General, for as soon as he received the news (he was at the time in Mexico City) he entered into an arrangement with His Excellency, the Viceroy, for the founding of a Mission in the above mentioned harbor, and he took such great interest in it that when he knew that ten Missionaries were coming out in the packet-boat "San Antonio" for the five Missions, he charged the captain that in case he should arrive at the port of San Francisco before coming to that of Monterey, and if two of the Missionaries should feel encouraged to remain there in order to proceed without loss of time to the founding of the same, that he should allow them to disembark with all the equipment necessary for the establishing of the instrumentality for preaching the Word, and that he also leave a sufficient number of armed sailors to act as a guard, advising the land commander to furnish, as soon as possible, the troops necessary to replace the marines. This plan was not carried into effect as the packet-boat arrived first at Monterey and six years passed before the establishment of the Mission of our Holy Father, San Francisco, as will be seen later.

I received word similar to that sent by Father Crespi from other members of the expedition, the commander Don Gaspar de Portolá also telling me that they had not been able to find the port. He added that having made a careful examination of the provisions they had left, and then calculated what would be needed for their use under the most rigid economy, he concluded that there would be scarcely enough to last until the middle of March, as the necessary provisions would have to be reserved to carry the expedition back to the frontier and to the new Mission of San Fernando [de Vellicatá]. And so he charged me at the same time that I should send word to the Fathers in the northern Missions [of Old California] telling them to forward to that place such things as might be needed, for he had determined that if, by St. Joseph's Day (March 19), none of the packet-boats had arrived from San Blas with provisions, the expedition would start on the return march the following day, leaving abandoned the port of San Diego.

This decision, which was made public in the port and among the members of the expedition, was the sharp arrow which wounded the zealous heart of our Venerable Father Fr. Junípero, who, finding no other recourse but in prayer, took the whole matter to God and besieging the Throne of Grace, begged with all the strength of his ardent devotion that God have pity upon the great multitude of the pagans which had here been discovered, for if, at this time, the first colonization were abandoned, this Spiritual Conquest would be put off to some remote future time. Every day his Apostolic zeal increased in view of the great harvest field before him, which, in his opinion, was ripe and ready to be gathered into Mother Church, so he resolved that he would not abandon the place nor desist from so glorious an enterprise, although the expedition should retire. This most evangelical minister declared that he would remain with some of his companions, trusting only in God for the love of whom he was willing to make every sacrifice. This he communicated to me in a letter which I received with the rest and a copy of which I give herewith, keeping the original in my possession, and I will do the same with other letters which it may be well to insert, either as a proof of the ardent zeal which consumed the heart of my Venerable Father Lector Junípero, or to weave together this History of California. And I regret that I cannot find many others of the innumerable letters which he wrote to me in the intervals that we lived at a distance one from the other, for we used to console each other often in this way; and the Servant of God, in his letters, which were always very fervent and edifying, roused me from lukewarmness and slothfulness as the reader can well imagine if he reads with attention those which are inserted in this Historic Account.

CHAPTER XIX

Letter from the Venerable Father, and the Things Which I Did on Receipt of It.

LONG live Jesus, Mary and Joseph!— Reverend Father Lector President, Fr. Francisco Palou — Dearly Beloved Companion and Respected Sir: During the ten months and ten days which have passed since I gave your Reverence the last farewell embrace at the Mission of San Xavier until the present the great love which I have for you has often asserted itself with the memory of our old friendship and of its many joys and has led me to spend many moments in thinking of how the work is progressing there and how you have arranged the matters which, on account of my departure, were not very well established, and, although I am quite ignorant of everything, I have entered very deeply into sympathy with you as I have thought of what was very likely to have happened.

May the infinite love of God grant that at least everything is in a fairly good condition and that you are enjoying peace and comfort. Thanks to God, I have been and am still very well and with that I have said everything.

Soon after writing the letters which I sent not long ago on returning from a journey to San Juan Dios, I also wrote to your Reverence on reaching this port of San Diego at the beginning of July of last year. If you received that letter, as I suppose you did, you will have learned from it how I fared in the way and that the country is filled with people and that after making several days' journey beyond San Juan Dios the places where we made our camps offer not only good but really excellent opportunities for Missions. So that there might be formed a beautiful chain of them from that place to this, which, as I told you, was founded on the day of the Triumph of the Holy Cross and of our Lady of Carmel, the 16th of July. The Missionaries who took part in this were only Father Fernando and myself, as Father Crespi and Father Gomez had left two days before for Monterey, leaving here Fr. Fernando with Father Murguia who was expected to arrive shortly on the packet-boat San José. But on this day which I write there are no ships, nor any San Buenaventura, nor Monterey; but the only thing there is to talk about is the abandonment and the destruction of this, my poor little Mission of San Diego. God forbid that such a thing should happen.

Those who left here on San Buenaventura's Day for Monterey returned on the 24th of January of the present year with the merit of having suffered much, of having eaten their mules and of not finding any such place as Monterey; they think that that port has been blocked up with the great sand-dunes which they find in the place where the port ought to be and I think that perhaps in this they are right. For I have seen the letters which both Father Juan Crespi and Sergeant Ortega have written to you and so I omit all reference to their pilgrimage and only here lament the slow steps with which everything moves and the fears we have that there will not be so great a harvest, although it seems to me it could not be more ready for the cutting and for us to thrust forth our hands for its gathering, as all can see and feel in view of so many things which have happened around us. Beloved Brother, for the love of God try from where you are to use all the influence you have that this work may go on.

If I knew how things were there and if the men had come out from the Mission of Spain or not, I would know what to ask for, but now, not knowing whether they will come or when the ships will come, I cannot ask for anything with definiteness, and this lack of communication with your Reverence and with those Missions is undoubtedly one of the greatest hardships we feel here, at least. What I most desire is some help, although our physical necessities are not a few, yet while we have left a tortilla and some herbs from the field, what more do we need? Only this being here without news and without being able to go on and being in doubt as to whether we will have to abandon what has been already obtained is what afflicts me, although personally, through the mercy of God, I am quieted at heart and willing to accept what He may send.

On three different occasions I suppose I have been in danger of death from the hand of these poor gentiles: the first was on the day of the Seraphic Mother Santa Clara, the next on Saint Hipolito's Day, and then, again, on the day of the Ascension of Our Lady when they killed my Joseph María, the boy I brought from Loreto. But thank God, everything is now quiet here. On the days immediately following the attack in which we still had fears that their advance would be repeated, I wrote your Reverence a long letter, although much against my will, intending to send it to the ship so that in case they were to kill me it would serve as a good-bye, and as information which you could give to the College, and this I asked you to do. But as little by little everything became quiet I did not send off the letter and now that I have looked for it I cannot find it anywhere.

In order that your Reverence may know all, I am sending you a copy of the letter which I write to His Excellency, the Inspector-General, in order that you may read it and afterwards seal it and forward it to him, and please have in mind that what I say to him I write also to you, as I have not time to repeat the message, and you are free to communicate what I therein say to anyone you please. It seems to me that your Reverence, from the place where you are, can help much in this work, more than if you wrote to come here personally. And so I beg of you, for God's sake, do not try to come hither until I let you know again whether with time and the new aspect which affairs may take it would be wise for you to do so. For the present Father Vizcaino is the only one who is going with the captain, as he is wounded in the hand.

Four of us remain here, Fathers Juan Crespi, Fr. Fernando Parron, Fr. Francisco Gomez and myself, to see if, in case the ships should arrive, we may be able to found a second Mission. If we see that the provisions are exhausted and also our hope, then I shall remain with only Fr. Juan to endure up to the very last. May God give us of His holy grace. Please commend us to God that so it may be. If your

Reverence should see that cattle which were left in Vellicatá are to be forwarded to us, then please have them bring a little incense, for while we remembered to load the censors we forgot the incense. And perhaps you can send some calendars if they have arrived and also the new Holy Wafers, in case they also have been sent from Guadalajara. We are making a copy of the diaries, both mine and Fr. Juan's, to be ready as soon as possible, and I greatly regret that they cannot be sent now, but here we work under great difficulties and at times it is almost impossible to write; however, we shall make an effort and they will be sent as soon as possible. I would like to say many other things to your Reverence but under so many vexations and contingencies I cannot properly explain myself nor write more. I send kindest regards to all my Companions and if any does not receive a letter from me let him not attribute it to lack of will but of time to write. All these Fathers commend themselves to Your Reverence most heartily and Fr. Fernando says that you already know what a bad penman he is and that this letter goes in the name of all and that he commends you to God. When you write to the College, please give them all on my part many good wishes and with this, good-bye, until another time which, perhaps, will not be so long as was the last interval. May his Divine Majesty keep you many years in His holy love and grace. Mission of San Diego, in his port, and among the pagan people of California on the 10th of February, 1770. I kiss the hand of your Reverence.

Your affectionate friend and servant,

FR. JUNÍPERO SERRA.

As soon as I received this and the other letters I immediately put myself in communication with the Lieutenant Governor, securing from him that all proper orders should be sent out for the purpose of supplying the Mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá with all such provisions as could be gathered together; and that as soon as possible the captain should be sent back to San Diego with the nineteen soldiers which he had brought, taking with him the cattle, in order that the abandonment of that port should not be made necessary and that in case it had been abandoned that the people should find assistance so much the sooner on the way. This, the Governor ordered done with great efficiency and it all served its purpose, as we shall afterwards see.

CHAPTER XX

The Efforts of the Venerable Father Junípero to Prevent the Abandonment of the Port and Mission of San Diego.

FROM the moment in which the Governor declared his purpose to have the expedition retire toward Old California in case no ship arrived by the 19th of March, scarcely any other thing was spoken of than the return trip, for it seemed to all, both the officers as well as the sailors, that this time set by the Governor was really not early enough, but that was the date of the Feast Day of the Holy Patriarch St. Joseph, whom, as we have said, the Inspector-General had chosen to be the patron Saint of the expedition. In San Diego everyone was talking of the retreat and getting ready for it. They were saying that the people who might be considered efficient as sailors were to embark on the packet-boat "San Carlos" and that the rest should go by land.

All these rumors and plans were as so many arrows which penetrated the fervent heart of our Venerable Father President, who unceasingly laid this matter before God in his prayers, asking him to grant the arrival of the ship before the date assigned for the retreat in order that the opportunity might not be lost of converting to God the great host of gentile souls which were at hand, and which, if it were not then accomplished, might be forever impossible, or at least be deferred for many years. It should be remembered that the number of Spaniards who had come to this port by sea only and who had passed from sight reached the number of one hundred and seventy-six and if now, after having taken legal possession of the land and beginning a colony, it should be abandoned, many centuries would pass before another such effort could be made.

These considerations and above all the ardent desire to win souls for God made His servant resolve to abide in San Diego although the expedition should leave him behind, and for this reason he invited his disciple, Father Juan Crespi, who had joyfully offered to accompany him hither, to remain with him, trusting in God that some day a vessel would arrive with help, and that if some of the sailors were left to act as a guard for them they might convert to God some soul in the interval in which the higher authorities might order a return expedition and more troops to establish firmly the Spiritual Conquest.

The month of March was well advanced and neither of the two ships which were expected had appeared As the Venerable Father had become firm in his purpose to remain, he went on board the ship to treat this matter with the sea commander, Don Vicente Vila, and he spoke to him as follows: "Sir, the land commander and Governor has determined to retire and to abandon this port by the 20th if some ship does not arrive beforehand bringing help, he being impelled to take this step because of the lack of provisions, and because it is the common opinion that the port which they set out to find has been blocked with sand, although I suspect that they did not recognize it." "I have thought the same thing," replied the Commander, "judging from what I have heard and what I have read in the letters. The port must be there exactly where they planted the Cross." "Well, Sir," said the Venerable Father, "I am resolved to remain, although the expedition may go, and with me Father Crespi. If you will, we will come aboard as soon as the expedition leaves and when the other packet-boat arrives we will go up the coast by sea in search of Monterey." To this the captain gladly agreed and having decided to keep the matter secret, the Venerable Father returned to his Mission.

When the Venerable Servant of God saw that the Feast Day of the Venerable Patriarch, St. Joseph, was now at hand, he proposed to the Commander and Governor that they should make a Novena to this patron saint of the expeditions. This was agreed upon and the Novena was held with all in attendance. When it was concluded the daily prayer of the Rosary was recited. The day of San José arrived and the feast of this great Saint was celebrated with High Mass and a sermon, everything having been already prepared for the retreat the following day toward Old California. But that same afternoon God intervened to satisfy the burning desires of His Servant through the intercession of the most Holy Patriarch and to give comfort to all, permitting them to see clearly and distinctly a ship which being hidden from sight the following day did not come to anchor until the fourth day in the port of San Diego. This vision was sufficient to suspend the plan to abandon the town and the Mission and all were encouraged to remain, attributing it to a miracle wrought by the Holy Patriarch on this, his own day, the last in which the expedition was to remain in that place before leaving, by permitting them all to see the vessel. But greater still was their wonderment when they had certain news of the circumstances which had concurred to bring this about, but before going on to tell of them I wish to bring to the pious consideration of my reader the peculiar joy and happiness which filled the heart of our Venerable Father who, without ceasing, continued to give thanks to God and also to the blessed Saint, the Comfort of the afflicted, San José, whom He honored without reserve for this so very special a manifestation of goodness. In sign of thankfulness they all agreed a High Mass should be said, in honor of San José, and that the same should be celebrated with the greatest solemnity on the 19th of each month. This, the Venerable Father continued to do with the most holy devotion up to the very last day of his life, as we shall see in due time.

CHAPTER XXI

The Ship Arrives at San Diego and the Vessels and the Land Expedition Start out in Search of the Port of Monterey.

IT has already been related in Chapter XVI how the packet-boat "San Antonio" was dispatched early in July of the year 1769 from the port of San Diego to that of San Blas in search of a crew for the "San Carlos" and of provisions for all and how after twenty days' sail anchored in the latter port without other incident than the death on the way of nine of the seamen.

As soon as His Excellency, the Viceroy, and His Honor, the Inspector-General, received the documents and from them learned that the land expedition was on its way to Monterey and that on account of the lack of a crew and of provisions (which lack was caused by the failure of the third vessel to put in an appearance) they made all prompt and necessary arrangements for the preparation and loading of the packet-boat "San Antonio" in order that she might sail directly for Monterey without stopping at San Diego in order to bring needed succor to the land expedition.

The vessel sailed and reached the latitude of Monterey without incident, but at about eighty leagues from that place they found themselves short of water and decided to go ashore in the Channel of Santa Barbara in order to provide themselves with this indispensable factor. On going ashore the Indians came about them in their little canoes showing great friendliness and willingness to serve them. They showed them where to find water and helped them to fill their barrels. Although they did not know our language they made themselves clearly understood by signs, communicating to the men of the ship that the land expedition had retired, that is, that it had passed twice through their villages and that they had intercourse with them, being able to give the names of some of the soldiers. This news put Captain Pérez in great perplexity, but considering that he was compelled by the order of his superiors to go on and that he should give more weight to them than to the statements made by the pagans who might not have told him the truth, he determined to go on toward Monterey. But it happened that while getting under way he lost one of the anchors, and considering that he would need it very badly in the port whither he was going, he felt obliged to change his purpose and go back to San Diego, there to provide himself with an anchor from the "San Carlos." This which seemed to be a mere accident is the reason why the packet-boat "San Antonio" arrived there when it did and also how it happened that she could be seen on the afternoon of the 19th of March. It was for this reason, as we have seen, that the Mission and Port of San Diego were not abandoned.

As this vessel arrived well loaded with provisions it was determined by both the land and the sea Commanders to make a new expedition in search of the much desired Monterey. The packet-boat "San Antonio" was to go by sea and in it our Venerable Father, Fr. Junípero. The Governor was to take charge of the land expedition with all those others of whom Father Crespi speaks in his diary. Both expeditions set out in the middle of April and it was from on board ship that my Revered Father Lector Junípero wrote me the following letter which I gladly insert, as from its contents can be seen what was the ardent and burning zeal for the conversion of souls which inflamed his heart.

Long Live Jesus, Mary and Joseph!—Reverend Father Lector and President, Fr. Francisco Palou. Dearly Beloved Friend, Companion, and Esteemed Sir: The "San Antonio," formerly called "El Principe," having arrived in this port on the day of San José (although in fact she did not enter the port until four days later), our superiors, the commanders, have determined upon a second journey to Monterey. Fr. Juan Crespi a second time goes by land and I make the voyage by sea. While we were under the impression that there was no hurry (though I had sent aboard whatever I wanted to take along, except my bed), yesterday, Holy Saturday, very late in the evening, I received notice from the Captain, our friend and countryman, Don Juan Pérez, that we must embark that very night. I went on board and now we are at the entrance of the port. The men have been setting the sails in order ever since I celebrated Holy Mass very early this morning.

Fathers Parron and Gomez stay in San Diego as Missionaries, and some of the soldiers will share the hardships with them. I and Fr. Juan Crespi go with the intention of separating (like the guards), one for Monterey and the other for San Buenaventura, about eighty leagues from it, lest on our account or through the fault of the College the founding of that third Mission in this New California be frustrated. For me that kind of solitude will indeed be the greatest hardship, but God in His mercy will make good the loss. If I should not have an opportunity to write to the College and to the Fr. Guardian, I beg your Reverence to do so in my name, giving an account of all, and also that I write this letter with considerable difficulty seated upon the floor. In the same way I have written the enclosed letter to his most

Illustrious Lordship. It is very brief, but gives an account of myself. By this ship I have not received a note or letter from anyone.

Verbally we have received the news of the death of our Holy Father and Lord, Clement XIII, and that the most excellent Lord Ganganeli, one of our friars, has been elected. *Dominus conservet eum,*[16] etc. This information has pleased me very much in my solitude. Likewise I have heard of the death of Fr. Moran for whom we are bound to apply the Holy Masses according to agreement. The reason why no letters have arrived, they say, is because this ship had sailed with directions to proceed to Monterey without stopping here. All letters intended for us at San Diego were therefore left behind, in order that the "San José," which is destined for this place, may bring them up; but it has not appeared, and in the opinion of the seamen, it is doubtful whether it will come. When the other vessel arrives, since it is not to pass on, the letters will remain here and when the Fathers have read them they may do with them what they please, for I do not know when other ships may reach our destination. It is now already a year since I have received news from the College and from the Viceroy, and soon it will be a year since I received the last from Your Reverence. Blessed be God, when there is occasion I will deem it a favor if you will send us some wax for the Holy Masses and some incense. Should any more Brethren have arrived from Spain, I recommend myself with sincere affection to all their Reverences, as well as to all others.

From a letter written from Cape St. Lucas by Fr. Murguía to Captain Juan Péres I learned that Fr. Ramos had gone to Loreto, called there by your Reverence for some business matters. This information gave me much pleasure, because from it I see that your Reverence and Fr. Ramos are alive, of which I had no evidence since I left Vellicatá, or San Juan Dios. I conclude this letter to-day, the second day of Easter, the day of the profession of our Holy Father St. Francis, because, owing to a change of wind, we did not sail away yesterday evening. Now, about seven in the morning, we have just passed out of the mouth of the port, and we are towing the launch of the "San Carlos" to whose sailors, God willing, I shall hand this letter when they depart, in order that they may take it to the Fathers on land, who can deliver it to the couriers who are prepared to start out as soon as the expeditions depart. Finally, farewell, my dear friend, and may the Divine Majesty unite us in Heaven. To Fr. Ramos and Fr. Murguía, most especial regards. To all I shall write a circular recommending myself to their prayers. God keep your Reverence many years in His holy Love and Grace. South Sea, in front of the Port of San Diego, April 16, of the year 1770. I kiss the hand of your Reverence.

Your most affectionate brother, friend, and servant, etc.,

FR. JUNÍPERO SERRA.

After getting out to sea on the 16th of April, and leaving the port of San Diego behind, they began to find contrary winds which obliged them to go as far south as latitude 30, but having made farther out to sea, and found better winds, they arrived without incident, after forty-six days of sailing, at the port of Monterey, as we shall see in the following chapter.

The land expedition set out one day later and arrived at the desired port (the same which they had failed to recognize on the first journey), after traveling thirty-eight days and with only two days spent in resting the animals on the road, as is related in the diary of Father Crespi.

CHAPTER XXII

The Arrival of the Expeditions at the Port of Monterey and the Founding of the Mission and Garrison of San Carlos.

I CAN best satisfy the requirements of this chapter by inserting here the following letter which the Venerable Father wrote me and in which he tells of their arrival at Monterey and of the activities of the expedition in that port.

Long live Jesus, Mary and Joseph!—To the Reverend Father Lector and President, Fr. Francisco Palou—Dearly Beloved Friend and Respected Sir: On the 31st of May, with the favor of God, our packet-boat, "San Antonio," under the command of Captain Don Juan Pérez, after a month and a half of rather hard sailing and bad weather, anchored in this beautiful harbor of Monterey, the very same harbor and unchanged in substance and circumstances from what it was when the expedition of Don Sebastian Vizcaino left it in the year 1603. To this comforting fact there has been added this other one, that we found that just a week previously the land expedition had also arrived and with it Father Fr. Juan, all in good health. On the holy day of Pentecost, the 3d of June, after having gathered together all the officers of sea and land and all the rest of the people by the side of the little ravine and oak where the Fathers of that other expedition had held their celebration, an altar was erected, the bells were hung up and rung, the hymn *Veni Creator* was sung and the water blessed, and finally a large cross was erected and the royal standard set up. I then sang the first Mass which we supposed has been celebrated here since that long ago, and then we sang the *Hail to Our Lady* before the image of our Most Illustrious Queen which occupied the altar. After that I preached a sermon to the assembled people. After the service had been concluded with the *Te Deum* the officers performed the ceremony of taking formal possession of the land in the name of the King, our lord (whom may God keep). We afterwards ate our dinner together under a shade on the beach. The whole service had been accompanied with much thunder of powder both on land and from the ship. To God alone be given all the honor and the glory. As regards the fact that this port could not be found by the members of the other expedition and that they had given it out that it no longer existed, I have nothing to say, nor is it incumbent upon me to judge in the matter. Let it be sufficient to know that it has at last been found and that, although tardily, the wishes of His Excellency, the Inspector-General, have been carried out, as we all desire with him the success of this Spiritual Conquest.

It is just a year last month since I received my last letter from Christian people, so your Reverence can well imagine how hungry we are for news, but for all that, I only desire when occasion may permit to know how it is with your Reverence and with my Companions, what may be the name of His Holiness, the reigning Pope, that we can mention him by name in the canon of the Mass, whether the canonization of the blessed Joseph Cupertino and Serafino de Asculi has taken place, and if there be any others who have been beatified or canonized in order to put them in the calendar and to say the prayers that pertain to them. We have quite bade good-bye long ago to our printed calendars. I should also like to know if it is true that the Indians killed Father Fr. Joseph Soler in Sonora, or Pimeria, and how it happened, and also if there be any other dead among my acquaintances that I may commend them to God. And now only this also, that your Reverence send such other word as might bring comfort to us poor hermits so far separated from human society.

Another thing which I much desire to know is concerning the Missionaries from Spain. I earnestly entreat your Reverence that you secure two subjects for these Missions in order that with the four who are here we may complete the number (six) and equip the Mission of San Buenaventura in the channel of Santa Barbara, as the location is much more advantageous than that of San Diego or Monterey or any other point so far discovered. Provisions have already been sent twice for this Mission and now, since the failure to establish it could not be blamed in any way to the friars, I do not want the blame to fall upon us when the proper military protection is at hand for its inauguration. The truth is that as long as Father Fr. Juan and myself are in good health the founding will not be delayed because we shall separate and go each one to his own Mission, but it will be the greatest of all hardships for me to be located in a place from which the nearest friar is eighty leagues distant. I therefore beg your Reverence that you do what you can to shorten this period of cruel solitude. Father Lasuen much desires to come to these Missions, so please have him in mind when the question comes up as to what ministers may be assigned.

We are woefully lacking in wax for our Masses, both here and in San Diego; however, we are going to celebrate the feast and procession of Corpus Christi to-morrow, although with little ostentation, in order to frighten away how many soever little devils there may be lurking in this region. If there is any way to send the wax it would come very handy. Please send also the incense which I asked for on another occasion. You will not fail to inform His Excellency of the good news of the discovery of this port, and I am sure that you will also not fail to ever commend us to God. May He keep your Reverence many years in His holy love and grace. Mission of San Carlos of Monterey, June, on the feast of San Antonio of Padua, 1770. I kiss the hand of your Reverence.

Your affectionate Friend, Companion and Servant,

FR. JUNÍPERO SERRA.

On the same day in which possession was taken of the port, and the royal garrison of San Carlos was begun, the Mission was founded under the same name, and next to the garrison a little chapel was built with a stockade for a provisional church. A house was also erected with the necessary rooms for the dwelling-place of the Fathers and for the offices. Both establishments were surrounded with a stockade for defense. The pagans had not yet put in an appearance as they were greatly frightened by the discharge of the artillery and the rattle of the musketry of the troops; but little by little, they begun to draw near and the Venerable Father made them little presents in order to win them and to secure their entrance into the fold of Holy Church and the saving of their souls which was the principal object of all his plans.

The next day after the feast of Corpus Christi to which the Venerable Servant of God refers in the letter already inserted, a courier was dispatched by land with the documents for His Excellency and for His Lordship, the Inspector-General, conveying information concerning all that had happened, and by the same conduct he sent me the above letter which I received on the 2d of August, being at the time in the Mission of Todos Santos in the south of California [the Peninsula], five hundred and sixty leagues from the port of Monterey. These the courier had traveled in a month and a half, having stopped for four days at San Diego. The documents for His Excellency were sent by launch to San Blas; but the Commander of the expedition, in obedience to orders received, had sailed from Monterey on the 9th of July and had arrived at that port on the 1st of August so that it was through his letters which he sent immediately that the news first reached Mexico City, as His Excellency, the Viceroy, received them on the 10th of the same month, and ordered that this very welcome news, together with his own expressions of gratitude and pleasure, should be made public.

Don Pedro Fages, lieutenant of the volunteers from Cataluña, remained in command of the new garrison of San Carlos in Monterey; and as he considered that he was very short of troops, resolved, at the suggestion of the Venerable President, to suspend the founding of the Mission of San Buenaventura until a captain could arrive, with nineteen soldiers, who had gone down into Old California in the month of February to bring back the cattle. But the captain with the troop and cattle came up only as far as San Diego and sent us no further word until the following year when he communicated with us by ship, as we shall see later. Seeing that for these reasons the third Mission could not be begun, our Venerable Father, with his disciple Fr. Juan Crespi, devoted themselves to the conversion of the Indians of Monterey; but as there was no one who knew their language they encountered many difficulties at first, but finally God willed it that a door should be opened by means of a converted Indian boy whom they had brought from Old

California, who, through the many conferences which the Venerable Fr. Junípero had him conduct with these pagans, began to understand them and to pronounce a few words in their language. When he could explain to them what was said he gave them to understand that the purpose of the Fathers in coming to their land was to direct their souls into the way of heaven.

It was on the 26th of December of the same year that the first baptism was celebrated among these gentile people and it was for the fervent and devoted heart of our Venerable Father a source of unbounded joy. Little by little others were won and the number of Christians increased so that three years later when I came up to that Mission there were in all one hundred and sixty-five; and when the Venerable Founder Junípero terminated his glorious career he left one thousand and fourteen baptized souls of whom many had already passed on to enjoy God and eternal life, as the fruitage of his incessant and Apostolic labors.

One of the things that had greatly helped in these conversions, or perhaps I had better say, that was the principal foundation of this most important Conquest, was the strange marvels and prodigies which God, our Lord, had wrought in the eyes of the gentiles that they might fear and also learn to love the Catholics: Fear, to restrain them so that in spite of their numbers far in excess of the little group of Christians, they showed us no insolence; and Love, which brought them to hear with affection the gospel doctrine which we had come to teach them, and to embrace the gentle yoke of our holy law.

In his diary of the second land expedition to the port of Monterey, Father Crespi writes, under the date of the 24th of May, as follows:

> After traveling about three leagues we arrived at one o'clock at the little salt water lakes near Pt. Pinos, toward the northeast, where in the first journey the second cross had been set up. Before making camp, the Governor, one of the soldiers and myself went on to see the cross in order to find out if there was any sign by which we might know if those of the vessel had already arrived, but nothing of the sort was found. We found the cross surrounded on all sides by arrows and little branches with many feathered crests, stuck up in the ground, which had been put there by the gentiles. There was also a string of sardines still somewhat fresh hanging from a branch by the side of the cross, on another was a piece of meat and at the foot of the cross there was a little pile of mussels.

All this excited great wonderment but as none could explain it they suspended judgment.

As soon as the new converts who had been baptized could sufficiently make themselves understood in Spanish and when the Californian neophyte could understand their language they several times gave us the following explanations. They said that the first time they saw any of our people they noticed that *all of them wore upon the breast a very brilliant cross*, and when they had gone away, leaving that large cross standing on the shore, so great was the fear it inspired in them that none of them dared to go near to that Sacred Symbol because they saw it, after the sun had set and the shades of night had come on, filled with the splendors of a great Light which seemed to them to make it grow as it were until it reached up to the very heaven. But when they drew near to it by day, when these strange appearances were absent, and it was seen in its natural form they tried to win its favor in order that it might not do them any harm, so they had brought it this offering of meat, fish, and mussels, and when in wonderment they noted that it did not eat anything they made the offering of the arrows and the feathered crests as a sign that they wished to make peace with the Holy Cross and with the people who had put it there.

This strange declaration was repeated by several of the Indians (as I have said) on different occasions and last of all in the year 1774 when the Venerable Father President returned from Mexico. They told him the same story that they had told me the previous year without the slightest variation. This the Servant of God communicated to His Excellency, the Viceroy, for his edification, in order to increase his fervor and activity in carrying out the plans of this spiritual enterprise. As a result of this prodigy and of many others which the Lord wrought, the conversion of the gentiles was accomplished most peacefully and without war's alarms. Blessed be God to whom be all the glory and praise.

CHAPTER XXIII

Devout Expressions of His Excellency, the Marquis de Croix, on Receiving the News of the Discovery of Monterey.

OF so great importance, for the greater glory of God, the extension of our Holy Catholic faith in the most northerly of the Californias and the honor of our Catholic monarch, did they consider this establishment of the port of Monterey that their Excellencies, the Viceroy, Marquis de Croix, and the illustrious Inspector-General, Don José de Galvez, could not withhold the great joy with which this word had been received into their noble hearts, on the 10th of August of the year 1770, concerning the founding in the said port of the Mission and garrison of San Carlos and they ordered that the news should be published in the populous city of Mexico, capital of New Spain. They asked that the Dean of the Cathedral order a solemn ringing of the bells, which was answered from the towers of all other churches, both of the secular and of the regular Orders, awakening a general spirit of joy among all the inhabitants. People began to ask one another what the good news was and when they were informed they joined His Excellency in his rejoicing, entering the palace and presenting their congratulations, the which he received in company with His Honor, the Inspector-General, principal agent in these Spiritual Conquests, and who, in order to carry out the plans, had worked more than any one else, not feeling it beneath his dignity as a gentleman in these special circumstances to do the work of a common laborer in the repairing of the ships and in packing with his own hands the utensils which were to serve in the Missions. Now that they saw realized the fruit of their great labors both gentlemen rendered thanks to God for this happy success of the Conquest and the expedition undertaken for this end, by which the dominions of our Catholic monarch have been extended for more than three hundred leagues along the coast toward the north in this America.

The above mentioned stretch of three hundred leagues is composed of fertile territory, populated with innumerable gentile people whose natural docility and peaceful habits are a ground of hope that they will soon be converted to our Holy Faith and be gathered together into Catholic towns, and so, living in subjection to the royal crown may secure these coasts of the Southern or Pacific Ocean to the royal standard. In thanksgiving for this so great and happy achievement, the aforesaid gentlemen determined that on the next day after receiving the news a solemn Mass should be sung in the cathedral. Both of them attended the same, accompanied by all the court and tribunal, and when it was over the good wishes of the principal people of the city were again presented to His Excellency who received them in the name of our Catholic monarch.

As His Excellency, the Viceroy, was desirous that not only the inhabitants of the city of Mexico, but that all the people of New Spain, should be informed of these glad tidings, he ordered printed and circulated throughout the kingdom the following account, which it has seemed to me should be here inserted because in it is clearly revealed the religious fervor of our Venerable Father Junípero and the high esteem in which he was held by these gentlemen as an exemplary and zealous worker.

"COPY OF THE PRINTED ACCOUNT."

An abbreviated account concerning the port of Monterey and the Mission and Garrison which have been therein established under the name of San Carlos and of the success of the land and sea expeditions which for this purpose were sent out in the preceding year, 1769.

As a result of the several expeditions which the Crown of Spain made at great cost in the two preceding centuries for the exploring of the west coast of California, in the South Sea, and for the occupying of the important port of Monterey, this great enterprise has now at last been successfully accomplished through the work of two land and sea expeditions, which in obedience to Royal Orders and under the decree of this Supreme Regency were sent out from Cape St. Lucas and the garrison of Loreto in the months of January, February and March of the preceding year.

Both expeditions met in June of the same year in the port of San Diego, situated at latitude 32½ degrees. Here it was found necessary to send the packet-boat "San Antonio" back to the port of San Blas in order to obtain reinforcements for her crew and to bring out a new supply of provisions. The flagship, called "San Carlos," remained anchored in the port of San Diego because of a lack of marines, many of them having died of scurvy. The expedition, after establishing a Mission and leaving a guard, went on by land through the interior of the country as far north as latitude 37 degrees 45 min. in search of Monterey, but when they could not find it by means of the land-marks given of the former trails and ancient charts, and fearing a scarcity of provisions, they returned to San Diego. Upon the opportune arrival of the packet-boat "San Antonio" in March of the present year the two Commanders decided to undertake the journey for a second time, following out the instructions which they had received for this end.

Both expeditions therefore left San Diego, one on the 16th and one on the 17th of April, and in this second attempt the land expedition had the joy of discovering the port of Monterey and of arriving there on the 24th of May, while the sea expedition arrived also one week later.

When that port had been occupied to the great pleasure of the innumerable gentiles who inhabit that country, already well explored and reconnoitered during the two journeys, solemn possession of the land was taken on the 3d of June by an official act which the Commander-in-chief drew up and which was certified to by the other Officials of both expeditions, in which all declare that this is the very port of Monterey as indicated by all the land-marks described in the ancient records made by General Don Sebastian Vizcaino and the chart drawn by Don Joseph Cabrera Bueno, first pilot of the Philippine Navy.

On the 14th of the month of June the commander, Don Gaspar de Portolá, dispatched a courier by land to the garrison of Loreto with this welcome news of the occupation of Monterey and of the establishing there of the Mission and Garrison of San Carlos, but owing to the great distance which must be traveled, this supreme regency has not yet received those documents, but on the 10th of the present month couriers arrived in this city from the port of San Blas whom this same captain had sent on his arrival there together with the engineer Don Miguel Constanzo and Captain Don Juan Pérez, commander of the packet-boat "San Antonio," formerly called "El Principe," which had sailed on the 9th of July from Monterey and which, in spite of a week of calm, made the long voyage without incident and with great speed, anchoring on the 1st of the present month in San Blas.

The new garrison and Mission of San Carlos of Monterey were left abundantly supplied with provisions for a year in order that another Mission may be established at a proper distance under the patronage of San Buenaventura. The military commander of these new establishments is the Lieutenant of volunteers from Cataluña, Don Pedro Fages, who has with him more than thirty men. By this time it is hoped that the captain from the garrison of Loreto, Don Fernando de Rivera, with nineteen other soldiers will have joined him, bringing with him herdsmen and muleteers who were to drive thither two hundred head of cattle and to take with them provisions from the new Mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá, situated within the frontier of Old California, for they are known to have left that camp on the 23d of May last destined for the above mentioned ports of San Diego and Monterey.

In spite of the fact that in this latter place store-houses had been built and well stocked for the use of the new garrison and Mission before the departure of the packet-boat "San Antonio" and also in spite of the fact that in San Diego there lie at anchor the other two packet-boats of his Majesty, "San Carlos" and "San José," this Supreme Regency decrees that at the end of October next the "San Antonio" shall undertake a third voyage from the port of San Blas carrying new provisions and thirty friars from the College of San Fernando, the last of the Missionaries to come from Spain, in order that in that widely extended and fertile country as explored by the land expedition from the frontier of Old California as far north as the port of San

Francisco, not far distant and to the north of Monterey, new Missions may be erected and the most desirable opportunity for the conversion of the gentiles who inhabit Upper California may be well improved, seeing that with good will and meekness they seek our friendship.

As a proof of the very happy disposition with which these numerous gentile people show their docility the Commander, Don Gaspar de Portolá, assures us, and in this the other officials and the Missionary Fathers agree, that our Spanish people are quite as safe in Monterey as if they were in the streets of this Capital City, but none the less the new garrison has been left sufficiently furnished with artillery, troops and abundant supplies of war. The Reverend Father President of the Missions, himself writing from Monterey, tells us in detail and with great joy of the good will of the Indians and of the promises they have made him that they will bring him their children that they may be instructed in the mysteries of our Holy and Catholic religion; and this exemplary and zealous Missionary adds the detailed account of the solemn Masses which have been celebrated since the arrival of both expeditions up to the time of the departure of the packet-boat, and of the solemn procession of the Most Holy Sacrament which was celebrated on the Day of Corpus Christi, 14th of June, with other minor details which go to prove the special Providence with which God has deigned to favor the success of these expeditions, in reward, no doubt, for the ardent zeal of our Most August Sovereign whose incomparable piety recognizes as the first obligation of the Royal Crown in these vast dominions, the extension of the faith of Jesus Christ and the happiness of these same gentiles who groan in their ignorance under the tyrannous slavery of a common enemy.

In order not to retard the publication of this important news, this brief account of the expedition has been prepared without waiting for the documents dispatched by land from Monterey, from which, when they come, together with the diaries of the two expeditions, a full account can later be prepared of all that has been done. Mexico, 16th of August, 1770.— By order and license of His Excellency, the Viceroy. From the press of the Government.

This account, when printed, was greatly appreciated by the public and was widely circulated in New as well as in Old Spain. It says quite sufficient to make known the very high esteem in which the Commanders-in-chief of the New World held our Venerable Father Junípero, although they were quite ignorant of the firm resolve he had formed when he was in San Diego that he would not desist from this so important and great a Spiritual Conquest, although the expedition should return to Old California, as we have already explained in Chapter XX of this history. And this good opinion of him contributed not a little toward the securing of the efficient measures which the Viceregal Government dictated for the supplying of what was needed for the new establishments, as will be seen in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXIV

Adequate Dispositions Which His Excellency Ordered for the Better Equipment of the New Missions, in Accord with the Report of the Venerable Father President, Fr. Junípero.

AS the vessel had to remain a short time in the new harbor of Monterey, the Venerable Father had sufficient opportunity to explore not only the port itself but its surrounding territory, and, owing to his practical and skillful knowledge of such matters, he immediately decided that the place called San Carlos was not suitable for the establishing of the Mission because it was lacking in the necessary lands for the fields and also of water for irrigation, but that at a distance of a league, on the shores of the Carmel River, these conditions were amply provided in accordance with the requirements of the laws for the Indians in the establishing of towns and Mission compounds. He gave a detailed account of all this in letters sent to His Excellency, the Viceroy, and to His Lordship, the Inspector-General, begging them to permit the transfer of the Mission from San Carlos to the banks of the Carmel River.

He also informed them concerning the vast number of pagan people which the expedition had discovered in the wide stretch of more than three hundred leagues which lie between the frontier Mission of San Fernando Vellicatá and the port of San Francisco, indicating also that there were many beautiful sites in those lands for the founding of towns and Missions so that in them there could be constructed a long chain of Missions, almost all of them on the coast, which would be not only convenient for the sake of better communication but necessary for the conversion to God of innumerable souls which, now lying buried in the darkness of paganism, might be eternally lost through the lack of those who might point out to them the true light of our Catholic religion. In order to carry out these important plans it would be necessary to have many Gospel Workers come out with all the necessary equipment of vestments and holy vessels for the Church, as well as utensils for the houses and implements for the field in order to introduce the new converts to the labor of cultivating the fields, and in order that in this way, with the harvests which might be gathered, they could learn to live as civilized people and not as Indians, as they had been doing with their wild seeds which the country produces almost by itself, and so secure little by little their real culture and progress.

He wrote also to the Rev. Father Guardian of the College in the same tenor, adding that even if one hundred Holy Men from the Order were to come out there would be work for all on account of the very abundant harvest which God had placed there in the sight of the College of San Fernando. There had just come out to it from Spain, almost at the very time in which the Venerable Father forwarded this information, forty-nine friars of the Order, the exact date of their arrival being the 29th of May, of the year 1770.

As soon as His Excellency received this information and His Lordship, the Inspector-General, Don José de Galvez, received the other letter of the same import, the two men, moved by an ardent zeal for the conversion and salvation of souls, sent a letter to the Rev. Father Guardian of San Fernando asking that thirty friars of the Order be sent out, ten of them for the other Missions of this New California besides those already established under the names of San Diego, San Carlos and San Buenaventura; namely, the one to be established under the name of Our Father, San Francisco, another under the name of Santa Clara, another under the name of San Gabriel Arcángel, another under the name of San Antonio de Padua and still another under the name of San Luis Obispo de Tolosa.

Other ten were to be assigned to the five new Missions in the country which lies between San Fernando Vellicatá and San Diego, with the names, respectively, of San Joaquin, Santa Anna, San Juan Capistrano, San Pasqual Baylon, and San Felix de Cantalicio. The ten remaining Missionaries were to go as Companions to those workers who were alone in the old Missions. In view of this Catholic request of His Excellency the Rev. Father Guardian and councillors named, from among the friars who voluntarily offered themselves, the number required as above and communicated the same to His Excellency, the Viceroy.

As soon as His Excellency received this announcement from the College he made the necessary provisions for the carrying out of the order; namely, the delivery to them of all the vestments, holy vessels, bells, and other accessories for the Churches and vestries of the ten Missions. He also ordered the payment to the treasury of the College of the sum of ten thousand pesos, one thousand for each Mission, in order that other necessary equipment might be procured for the Church, the house and the field. He also ordered that for the expenses of the journey four hundred pesos should be delivered for each one of the Missionaries, as a stipend, to begin counting from the day of their departure from San Fernando. At the same time, His Excellency ordered the naval commissary of San Blas to get ready the packet-boat "San Carlos" (which had arrived at that port after the arrival of the "San Antonio"), to make the voyage to Loreto, carrying the twenty Missionaries, and the "San Antonio" carrying the other ten to sail from Monterey and that both the vessels should provide the necessary daily food for the friars when on the journey, at the expense of the royal treasury. And, finally, that they should try to take on board as large a supply of provisions as it was possible to carry. All this was carried out, as we shall see in the following chapter, and it was due to these reports of the Father Junípero that all these necessary provisions were obtained, and as well to the most earnest prayers which this loving servant never ceased to put up to the Throne of Grace asking that laborers should be sent to God's vineyard, while at the same time doing his utmost to win the good will of the gentile people gathered about the port of Monterey.

CHAPTER XXV

Voyages of the Thirty Missionaries Who Left the College to Go out to Both Californias.

ALTHOUGH His Excellency, the Viceroy, greatly desired that the thirty Missionaries should embark without loss of time, and gave his orders to this effect, they did not embark until January and February of the following year, 1771, because the vessels could not be made ready. They left Mexico City in October of the year 1770, and had to wait during the interval in the Convent of Tepic.

From this port the ten destined for Monterey sailed on the packet-boat "San Antonio," on the 2d of January of the year 1771, and after fifty-two days of rather trying voyage, on account of many bad storms, they arrived without incident at the port of San Diego on the 12th of March. They found there that all the Missionaries of that Mission (where several converts had already been baptized) were suffering from an attack of scurvy. The Captain left in San Diego a part of the cargo and sailed again on the 10th of April, taking with him the Missionaries in order that they might receive the blessing from the Rev. Father President who was in Monterey, and there receive each one instructions as to his destination.

The twenty friars assigned to Old California embarked on the packet-boat "San Carlos" early in February and suffered greatly in the voyage, because, after having left the port of San Blas, they met with such tremendous head-winds and strong currents that they were carried away below the port of Acapulco. Considering that they were so very far from their destination and that the water supply was giving out, the captain determined to draw near the shore and try to obtain a supply, making for a very bad port called Manzanilla, where they were on the point of being shipwrecked, as the packet-boat ran aground. The Fathers were taken ashore and landed upon the almost uninhabited coast of Colima. As the ship was much beaten by the waves, the rudder broken by the waves, and some of the planking of the keel loosened, they were afraid to continue the voyage in the packet-boat, as they feared it was unseaworthy, and so advised His Excellency, the Viceroy.

When His Excellency heard of this accident and delay he ordered that the Missionaries should travel by land as far as the Province of Sinaloa, coming down to the coast opposite Loreto in order that from that point they might cross the sixty leagues of the Gulf in one of the California ships. This they did, and in the long journey of three hundred leagues one of the friars died, but the rest of them reached the camp of Los Alamos, where they rested until there was an opportunity to be transferred by ship to the other side.

When the order from His Excellency had arrived the Captain had already ordered an examination made of the packet-boat, and when he found that the damage could easily be remedied, he told the Fathers that he would be able to put to sea within a very short time, but they nevertheless decided that they would make the journey by land, excepting two of them, who at the request of the Captain remained and went by ship. After putting to sea and heading for California they again met with such contrary winds that the voyage was delayed until the month of August, anchoring in the roadstead of Loreto on the 30th of that month. When the Governor received word from the Captain concerning the other Missionaries, he sent the packet-boat "Concepción" to bring them across, and they landed in the same roadstead on the 24th of November, 1771.

I was not in Loreto at the time of their arrival, but as soon as I had word of it I wrote a letter to the Governor asking for the necessary soldiers for the founding of at least two of the Missions at once, as His Excellency had charged me, and he replied that he had the same orders from His Excellency to provide me with the soldiers, but he had none at the time, as those which belonged to Loreto had not yet returned from Monterey. He had asked the Governor of Sonora to send him some recruits and as soon as they arrived he would provide me with the necessary assistance, but for the present he was unable to do so and had so reported to His Excellency. When I saw that it was impossible at that time to found any new Missions I distributed the nineteen Missionaries among the Missions already established and so reported to the College and to the Viceroy.

My letters and those of the Governor arrived in Mexico just at the time that His Excellency, the Viceroy, Marquis de Croix, was turning over his office to His Excellency, Knight Commander Don Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursua, the newly-appointed Viceroy, and, also, when His Honor, the Inspector-General, Don José de Galvez, was retiring to the Court and the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, of which he had been beforehand an Advisor and now became Governor of the same, and Secretary of State, as well as of the Foreign Office of the Indies.

With all these changes, and while His Excellency, the new Viceroy, was getting into touch with the affairs of his vast empire, there was necessarily much delay, which hindered steps being taken for the establishing of the five Missions, which were to be located between Vellicatá and San Diego, as has been said. At the same time there was presented a claim on the part of the Reverend Fathers of the Province of Santo Domingo of Mexico that they be given a part in these Spiritual Conquests and for which they had been granted a Royal Charter, in which His Majesty ordered that one or two Missions be delivered to them in pagan territory. In view of this request His Excellency, the Viceroy, requested him to enter into a conference with the Father Guardian of the College of San Fernando who was at that time the Rev. Father Lector, Fr. Rafael Verger, now Bishop of Nueva Leon. This the prelate of the Reverend Dominican Fathers did, and when our prelate was made aware of the character of the new charter which had been granted them by His Majesty, and knowing that Old California was not divisible, because it was a tongue of land between two seas, and that serious inconveniences would be sure to result from a mixture of the two religious bodies, he replied to the Reverend Dominican Prelate that it was not at all possible that both bodies should occupy that territory, but that if his Reverence so desired, all the Missions which had formerly been administered by the Reverend Jesuit Fathers should be granted to them, as well as the one which had more recently been founded under the name of San Fernando, and that this frontier with its stretch of one hundred leagues, populated with pagans, along the coast as far as the port of San Diego, in which they had been ordered to establish five new Missions, should be included in this cession, and that his Reverence should hold himself responsible for their establishment. In all this the Prelate consented, and an agreement was signed by both and presented to His Excellency, the Viceroy, who deigned to confirm the same in a Council of War and State, celebrated on the 30th of April, 1772, under which date a decree was issued for its fulfillment and which was carried out in the month of May of the following year of 1773, in which the Dominican Fathers arrived in California and I made formal delivery to them of the above mentioned Missions in order that with greater freedom our College might give itself the more completely to attend to the Conquests of Monterey, or New California, where I went up with nine of the Missionaries who had been with me in Old California. The rest of our Companions returned to the College of San Fernando.

CHAPTER XXVI

The Ten Missionaries Arrive at Monterey with the New and Favorable Edicts. Dispositions Made by the Venerable Father.

THE ten Missionaries who had embarked at San Diego on the 14th of April arrived on the 21st of May of the same year, 1771, without other incident than that of having been much shaken up during their voyage of thirty-eight days on account of contrary winds. Their arrival was a source of great joy to the Venerable Father President, when he saw himself surrounded with so many laborers who had come out with the greatest zeal to this vineyard of the Lord. Our Servant of God now had an abundance of provisions and house-room, though only made of palisades, to entertain them, and in which they could live temporarily until they could be distributed to the points in which they were to begin the Spiritual Conquest. With so many holy men of the Order gathered in this center of paganism, he did not wish to let the chance go by of celebrating the second feast of Corpus Christi, which on this year fell on the 30th of May, day of the Patron Saint, San Fernando. So the feast was held with the greatest solemnity, with High Mass sung by three Missionaries, a sermon, and the Procession of the Most Holy Sacrament, with twelve priests in attendance. The great heart of Fr. Junípero seemed too small to contain the great joy which overflowed his soul, on seeing such magnificent worship rendered to God, whom he never ceased to thank for having sent such a goodly number of friars to help him in the Missions and in the conversions, and also, when he realized how well inclined to help him were His Excellency, the Viceroy, and His Honor, the Inspector-General, who had written to him saying that he was free to choose the site of the Mission of San Carlos on the banks of the Carmel river or wherever he deemed most suitable.

After celebrating the feast, Corpus Christi, our Venerable Father, in accordance with the directions of His Excellency, the Viceroy, who had ordered the founding of five Missions, in addition to the three already projected since the beginning, made the corresponding assignment of the men of the Order who had come out for this purpose. Having in mind that two of those who had gone to San Diego on account of sickness had asked for permission to retire from the work, one to the College and the other to Old California in the hope that in the warmer climate of that region he would enjoy better health and so continue his labors, and not forgetting as well that these men had well earned the privilege of resting, as they had worked with the greatest self-denial and under hardships in an unhealthy climate, our Servant of God granted them their request and named as their successors and Missionaries of that field the Reverends Fr. Francisco Dumetz and F. Fr. Luis Jayme, of the Province of Mallorca. As founders of the Mission of San Buenaventura he named Fathers Fr. Antonio Paterna, of the Province of Andalucia and Fr. Antonio Cruzado, from the Province of Los Angeles. For San Gabriel he named the Fathers Fr. Angel Somera, member of the College, and Fr. Pedro Benito Cambón, of the Province of Santiago de Galicia, all of them Priests and Preachers.

As the three Missions where these Fathers were to be located lie to the south and near to San Diego, they all embarked again on the packet-boat "San Antonio," which sailed from Monterey on the 7th of July, and Commander Don Pedro Fages (now made a captain) also went on board in order to see to the distribution of the troops and the cattle which had been brought to San Diego, and also on account of the retirement of Captain Don Fernando Rivera.

The other six friars of the Order remained in Monterey, including our Venerable Fr. Junípero. He named for the Mission of San Antonio de Padua the Fathers Fr. Miguel Pieras and Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar, of the Province of Mallorca; for the Mission of San Luis Obispo de Tolosa the Fathers Fr. Joseph Cavaller and Fr. Domingo Juncosa, both from the Province of Cataluña; for the Mission of Monterey there were left the Venerable President and his companion Fr. Juan Crespi. Two other Missions were still in project but there were not Missionaries for them; namely, that of our Holy Father San Francisco, and Our Mother Santa Clara. But as these were to be located to the north of Monterey, and as, at present, there were no troops for all, the Servant of God consoled himself with the hope that when the troops arrived from Old California, there might also come the four Missionaries needed from some of the older Missions there.

Two days after the sailing of the packet-boat "San Antonio," in which the six friars had embarked, the Venerable Father started out to explore the valleys and ravines of the Carmel River in order to move the San Carlos Mission to a more favorable site. When he found a place which seemed to meet all the necessary requirements he ordered the felling of the trees for the construction of the houses, leaving there three of the marines who had remained behind from the vessel and forty of the California Indians, to act as a guard, with five watchmen under a corporal, whose business it was to see that the wood was prepared for the building of the Mission. In the interval the Venerable Father returned in order to found the Mission of San Antonio, as we shall see in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXVII

The Founding of the Mission of San Antonio de Padua.

THAT ardent zeal for the conversion of the gentiles which ever burned in the heart of our Venerable Father Junípero gave him no rest nor permitted him to delay in putting into operation the means necessary for the carrying out of his plans. As soon as he had finished the exploration of the Carmel River and had set to work there the men employed in the cutting of timber, he returned immediately to Monterey in order to prepare for his trip to the Santa Lucia Mountains, and soon after set out with the Fathers destined to serve as the founders of the Mission of San Antonio. They took with them all the necessary equipment for that new Mission as well as the guard of soldiers necessary for their protection. They traveled twenty-five leagues toward the southeast from Monterey, in the direction of these mountains, and when they had arrived at the base of them they found there a large canyon which was called *Los Robles*, as it was thickly covered with oak trees, and there they set up the camp.

Having examined the contour of the land and found a wide and sightly plain in the canyon near to a river (to which they immediately gave the name of San Antonio), it seemed to them to be the proper place for the building of the Mission because there was a good head of water in the river even in the month of July, which was the time of the greatest drought, and also because the waters could be conducted without difficulty for the irrigation of the land. As all had agreed upon the choice of the place for the Mission, the Venerable Father ordered that the mules should be unloaded and the bells hung up from the branch of a tree and as soon as everything was in readiness the Servant of God began to ring them, shouting at the same time as if he were beside himself, "Hear, oh Gentiles, come, oh come to the Holy Church! Come, oh come and receive the Faith of Jesus Christ!" The Reverend Father Fr. Miguel Pieras, one of the two Missionaries, and the one designated to act as the President of the Mission, after watching him awhile said: "Why do you weary yourself unnecessarily, as this is not the place where the church is to stand, nor is there anywhere within hearing in these regions a single pagan soul? It is of no use to ring the bells." To this the Father answered: "In this way, Father, let me give expansion to my heart, as I would that this bell might be heard in all the world, as indeed the Venerable Mother, Sister Maria de Jesus de Ágreda, expressed her desire, or at least I would that the bell might be heard by all the pagan people who live in this sierra." They then set up a large cross which, after it had been blessed, they venerated. A little shelter of branches was also made, and underneath was placed the table for the altar and here the Venerable Father celebrated the first Mass in honor of San Antonio, the Patron Saint of this Mission, on the 14th of July of the year 1771, dedicated to the Seraphic Doctor, San Buenaventura. A single Indian who had been attracted by the ringing of the bell, or by the strangeness of the people there gathered, happened to draw near at the time that the Mass was being celebrated and so was a witness to the act of the Divine Sacrifice. This the Venerable Priest discovered as he turned from the altar in order to preach the sermon after the reading of the Gospel, and with his heart overflowing with joy he expressed himself in his sermon in the following manner: "I trust in God and in the favor of San Antonio that this Mission will come to be a great settlement of many Christians because we see here what has not been seen in any of the other Missions founded hitherto, that at the very first Mass the first fruits of paganism have been present, and he will surely not fail to communicate to his fellows what he has here seen."

This is indeed what took place, as we shall see hereafter how the hopes of our Venerable Father were fulfilled to the letter. As soon as Mass was over he began to manifest his affection with little gifts to the gentile in order to attract by these means the rest; and this he accomplished that very day, for as soon as the word spread many of them, moved by curiosity, began to come in. Having attempted to make them understand by signs (in the absence of an interpreter) that the friars had come to settle and live in this region they showed their great appreciation of the same by continuing to make their visits, with little gifts of pinions and acorns, which they brought to them and from which, as well as from other wild grains, they make their meals and porridge which they use for food, and which they harvest in great abundance. The Venerable Father reciprocated by giving them in return for their gifts strings of beads of glass of different colors, as well as some of our food made from corn and beans and which immediately pleased the palate of these pagan people.

They immediately began the construction of the wooden houses which were to serve for the dwelling-house of the Fathers with their servants, the barracks for the soldiers and the church for Divine Worship, surrounding all these buildings with a stockade for defense so that the squad of six soldiers and corporal could act as guard. Within a short time the Fathers had attracted the attention of the Indians who became singularly attached to them because of the love and affection with which they treated them, and immediately they began to show their entire trust in the Fathers by bringing to them their grains as soon as they had harvested them, saying that they might eat what they pleased of them and that the rest they could keep for the winter season. This the Missionaries did with great satisfaction, wondering that the gentiles should have such confidence in them from the very first, and also wondering how much greater that trust might be when, after being converted to baptism, they might come to look upon them as their real Fathers. In this good opinion our Venerable Father Junípero freely shared as he saw these demonstrations of regard, and it was in this hope that he left the Missionaries of this Mission of San Antonio in order to return to Monterey, after remaining a fortnight with them.

Following the instructions of the Venerable President, the new Missionaries gave themselves up with the greatest consecration to the learning of the language of these barbarians, making use of the small boys in order to obtain from them the names of things and to explain to them that their object in coming to this land was to direct their souls toward heaven. This result they obtained at the sacrifice of great diligence and when they had begun to teach them the doctrine and to baptize, the Mission had been founded only two years and at that time when I visited it there were one hundred and fifty-eight new Christians.

These friars told me the following story. There was among the Indians a very old woman, whom they called Agueda, who, judging by her appearance, must have been over one hundred years old. She came to request baptism from the Fathers and when they asked her why she wished to be a Christian she replied that when she was a young girl she heard her father tell of the arrival in that country of a man who wore the same dress that the friars wear but who had come neither on foot over the hills but flying, and that he had taught them the same things which the Missionaries were now preaching, and when she had come to remember this she felt moved to become a Christian. Not daring to accept wholly this story of the old woman the Fathers inquired carefully concerning the matter of the other neophytes and they all unanimously replied that such was the story that they had heard from their fathers and that it was a general tradition which had been handed down.

When I heard this story from the Fathers I remembered immediately a certain letter which had been written in the year 1631 by the holy Mother, Sister Maria de Jesus de Ágreda to the Missionaries employed in the Spiritual Conquest of New Mexico and that among other things she says that our Father, San Francisco, had sent to these nations of the north two holy men of the Order in order to preach the faith of Jesus Christ (the men were not Spaniards), and that after having made many converts they suffered martyrdom. On estimating the time when they made their visit I concluded that it might have been one of these holy men of whom the convert Agueda had spoken.

This Mission of San Antonio, as I have already said, is situated in the center of the Sierra of Santa Lucia about eight leagues from the coast of the Pacific Ocean, but which can only be reached by a very hilly and stony road, and lies in latitude 35 degrees 30 minutes and is twenty-five leagues from the port of Monterey. The hills are covered with very large pine trees which produce a great abundance of pinions (very similar to those of Spain). These the Indians eat, although on account of their heating nature they cause some sickness. There is an abundance also of large live oaks and other oak trees which furnish the Indians with several varieties of acorns. These they dry in the sun and store for use, making from them porridge and meal, and for which also they use some plants and vegetables which the country produces in great abundance. No less is the supply of rabbits and squirrels, the latter being quite as savory as hares. The soil is very fertile and supplies abundant harvests of wheat, corn, beans, and other cereals brought out from Spain and with which the inhabitants now have supplied themselves.

During the summer time the climate is extremely hot but in the winter time it is extremely cold on account of the severe frosts which are felt there. The stream which never ceases to flow during the year and which is close to the Mission houses is often frozen over to such a degree that the water is sometimes frozen solid until the sun shines again and melts the ice. For this same reason there have been serious losses in the early part of the season, especially if the corn and beans are planted too early.

So very severe was the frost that fell on Easter Sunday in the year 1780 that a great part of the wheat fields which had already begun to ear, and was in blossom, was dried up like the dried stalks seen in the month of August. This misfortune brought great despair to the Indians but affected the Fathers even more seriously when they considered what drawbacks would follow the lack of provisions at the Mission, as it would be necessary for the young converts to go out into the hills in search of wild grains for food as they did when they were pagans. But the Fathers, feeling a revival of their faith and trusting in the patronage of San Antonio, invited all the new Christians to join them in nine days of prayer. They all attended the services with great punctuality and devotion; and just before the period of prayer began the Fathers ordered that the frozen fields be irrigated, although they appeared to be entirely dry. Within a few days they noticed that the wheat began to sprout up from the roots, and by the time the Novena was over the field was green. They continued to irrigate it and it grew with such rapidity that within the fifty days, at the time of the feast of the Holy Spirit, the grain was as tall as it had been before, with fine large ears, and they were able to see it ripen at the usual time of harvest and to gather the largest crop which they had ever seen from the same amount of land. When the Fathers and the Indians recognized their deep obligation for so very special a prodigy as the Lord our God had deigned to work in their favor, through the intercession of their patron Saint and miracle-worker, San Antonio, they all rendered to him the most sincere thanks.

This incident and many others which I omit in order not to make this history too bulky have contributed a great deal toward the confirming of the faith of the converts and to the bringing in of the gentiles, so that it has happened that the number of Christians in that Mission exceed those of any other, as the number of them just before the death of the Venerable Father Junípero, amounted to 1084 neophytes. Thus we see how his hope was fulfilled, when on the first day of the founding he put his trust in God and in the patronage of San Antonio and declared that there would be there some day a great settlement filled with many Christians. So God granted to his Servant Fr. Junípero the privilege of seeing during his own lifetime his desires brought to fruition, and after his most exemplary death the number of Christians continued to increase daily, and I doubt not that in heaven he will continue to ask God (as he promised me he would just before departing this life) for the conversion of all those remaining pagan people who populate these widely extended regions.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Venerable Father Proceeds to Transfer the Mission of San Carlos to the Carmel River. What He Did There.

AFTER a fortnight spent in establishing the Mission of San Antonio the Venerable Father President Fr. Junípero set out thence for Monterey with the most earnest desire of founding the Mission of San Luis [Obispo]; but for the lack of troops (the greater part of them had been detained in San Diego by Captain Rivera since the preceding year) his desires were frustrated until the commandant, Don Pedro Fages, might be able to bring them up; and so he occupied himself in the meantime in the transferring of the Mission of San Carlos to the banks of the Carmel River.

In order to begin this work which the Servant of God considered of the greatest importance in the conversion of the pagans and in order that the Mission might be a permanent one (for he considered he was practically founding it anew), he went to the place where he had ordered the cutting of the timber and there commanded that more trees be felled as he did not consider the supply sufficient. In the meantime he returned to the garrison. The Venerable Father might well have left his companion, Father Crespi, in charge of this work, or any one of the friars destined for the Mission of San Luis, and who were still idle in the garrison until their departure to establish their Mission could be carried into effect. But he did not want to lose this merit nor to put the work under the charge of others, without doubt in order to set them an example and that they might not feel above performing similar manual duties when they have in view so noble an object, and which are so very dear to God (as the Venerable Mother Mary de Jesus remarks in her letter). He left in the garrison the two ministers of the Mission of San Luis to look after the spiritual welfare of the troops, and his companion to take care of the converted Indians, charging him not only to provide them with food but also to care for their souls, reciting twice a day the Christian doctrine; and to all he gave the charge that whenever the Indians came in they were to be well treated and directed to the camp on the Carmel River.

When these preparations had been finished he set out for the place designated for the Mission, distant about a league from the garrison, to live there a sort of hermit life, having for his dwelling a little shack in which he lived. His work was that of overseer, but many times that of a day-laborer, until a building had been erected in which he could find shelter from the very cold wind which is felt in that canyon almost all the year round. His first work was that of the hewing out of a great cross, which, after having been blessed, was erected with the help of the soldiers and the servants and fixed midway in the space destined for the quadrangle and which was near to the little house that served him for a dwelling. Another house was erected for a provisional church so that he always had this most holy symbol as his constant companion. He venerated it as soon as it was daybreak and had the soldiers of the troop sing there a Hymn of Praise. Here the servant of God also said the matin prayers and the first prayers of the day and then he immediately would celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass which would be attended by all the soldiers and servants. Then they would all go to their work, each one to his place, the Venerable Father acting as engineer and overseer. Many times during the day he venerated the Holy Cross, repeating there the prayers of the divine office. All this I heard directly from the mouth of the corporal who served as guard in that place. He performed the same service at night after concluding the prayer of the Rosary, and in this the soldiers imitated his example and taught the Indians to do the same. Whenever the Indians would come to visit the Venerable Father, and the day rarely passed in which they did not come, being attracted either by curiosity or by the presents he gave them, the first thing he did was to make the sign of the cross on their bodies with his own hand, and then he made them worship before the Holy Cross. When these sacred ceremonies were finished he would give them some little present, either food which he had ordered made for them of wheat, or boiled corn, with a porridge made from the meal of these grains, or else beads and trinkets, and so he tried to win their favor as far as possible, learning to talk with them in their own language. The young Christians also used to come to see him and would ask permission of Father Crespi to go, as they said, to see the Old Father, and he had such a good time with them showing them the greatest affection, as if they were really and truly his own children. He taught them to salute everybody with the holy words, "Amar á

Dios"—Love God—and this salutation became so general that even the pagan people used it not only in speaking to the Fathers but to any other Spaniard, and so it extended over all the region, touching even the hardest heart whenever they would hear these gentiles use the expression, as it was just as if they heard their own companions speak it whenever they met them on the road, as everywhere the words could be heard: "Love God."

As soon as the Venerable Father had finished the erection of the chapel and dwelling-house, which was at the close of the year 1771, he called his companion, Father Crespi, and the new Mission was moved with all the Christian neophytes, and there both of them began the work of this Spiritual Conquest. This was his own peculiar Mission in which he remained (with the exception of the time spent in visiting the Missions and in the necessary trips of his ministry as President) until he died, leaving in this Mission alone 1014 baptized persons, including children, the greater part of them having received the Sacrament from the Father himself, for in this matter he was beyond all degree zealous and with a thirst for souls which seemed never to be satisfied.

CHAPTER XXIX

The Arrival of the Six Missionaries at San Diego and the Establishment of the Mission of San Gabriel.

AS has been said in Chapter XXVI, about the 7th of July of the year 1771 the packet-boat "San Antonio" sailed from the port of Monterey carrying the six Missionaries for the three Missions of the south, and the commander, Don Pedro Fages. After a week of sailing they arrived in the port of San Diego on the 14th, where they found the Fathers all right. The two Missionaries who were to take charge of the Mission did so at once and the two friars who had asked for permission to retire left, one embarking on the same packet-boat and sailing on the 21st of the same month for San Blas, and the other joining an overland train which was leaving for Old California.

As soon as the vessel had left, the establishing of the new Mission was undertaken, but the desertion of ten of the soldiers, just as they were about to start, made it necessary to delay until the men could be brought back again, as one of the Fathers went out to where they were and persuaded them to return, offering them pardon. Just as they were again about to start, on the 6th of August, others deserted, but in spite of this the captain decided that those destined for the Mission of San Gabriel should leave at once, and that he would later go with the party to found the Mission of San Buenaventura.

On the date just mentioned, the Fathers, Fr. Pedro Cambon and Fr. Angel Somera, guarded by ten soldiers, left San Diego, accompanied also by the muleteers carrying the equipment. They traveled northward along the trail marked out by the Expedition. After going about forty leagues they arrived at the Rio de los Temblores [River of the Earthquakes] (as it had been named by the first Expedition) and just as they were in the act of deciding as to the location of the Mission, a great multitude of gentiles came up, all armed and under the direction of two captains who, with blood-curdling yells, tried to hinder the proceedings. As the Fathers feared that a battle was imminent which would surely result in the death of not a few, one of them produced a canvas on which was painted the image of Our Lady of Sorrows and held it up in view of the barbarians. He had scarcely done this when they all, subdued by the vision of this beautiful image, threw down their bows and arrows and came running hastily forward. The two captains threw down at the feet of the Sovereign Queen the beads and trinkets which they wore about their necks, as a sign of their greatest respect and also to indicate that they wished to make peace with our company. They invited all the people from the surrounding villages who, in great numbers, men, women and children, kept coming in to see the Most Holy Virgin, bringing with them loads of various grains which they left at the feet of Our Most Holy Lady, supposing that she needed them for food the same as the rest.

Similar demonstrations had been made by the gentile women of the port of San Diego after the inhabitants of that region had been pacified. When the Fathers exhibited there another image of our Lady, the Virgin Mary with the Holy Child Jesus in her arms, as soon as it was made known in the surrounding ranches, they all came in to see it, and as they were not allowed to enter, being excluded by the stockade, they called to the Fathers and thrusting their full breasts between the poles sought to express in this vivid way their desire to give suck to that beautiful little child of which they had heard from the Fathers.

The sight of the image of Our Lady produced a wonderful change upon the gentiles surrounding the Mission of San Gabriel, and they came very often to visit the friars, seemingly not able to sufficiently express their joy that they should have come to live among them, and the desire to show their gratitude by their good will and their presents. The Fathers proceeded to explore the whole wide plain and began the Mission in the place which they considered most suitable, using the same ceremonies which have been referred to in the founding of the other Missions. The first Mass was celebrated under a little shelter made of branches on the day of the Nativity of Our Lady, the 8th of September, and on the next day work was begun on the chapel which was to serve as a provisional church, and also a house for the Fathers and another for the troops, all made of poles and surrounded by a stockade as a precaution against possible attack. The greater part of the wood for the building was cut down and dragged in by the pagans themselves, who also helped in the construction of the houses, and for this reason the Fathers were encouraged to hope for a great success in the work, seeing that from the very beginning there was no opposition to the gentle yoke of our Evangelical Law.

At the time when the natives seemed to be most content their good disposition toward us was seriously upset by an outrage committed by one of the soldiers upon one of the head chiefs of the village, and what was worse, by committing a sin against God Our Lord. As the gentile chief naturally thought of taking vengeance for the outrage committed against himself and his wife, he gathered together all his neighbors from the near-by villages and inviting all of the warriors to arm themselves, he led them down to the place in the field where two of the soldiers of the Mission were pasturing and taking care of the horses, one of them being the evil-doer. As soon as these soldiers saw the armed band approaching they put on their leather jackets as a defence against the arrows and prepared themselves for battle, as there was no way by which they could advise the captain of the guard, who, by the way, was ignorant of the deed committed by the soldier. The gentiles had no sooner come within bow-shot, when they began to let fly their arrows, aiming all of them against the offending soldier. The latter immediately aimed his gun at the Indian who seemed to him to be the boldest, presuming that he was the captain, and discharging his piece, killed him on the spot. As soon as the others saw the deadly force of this new weapon, whose effect they had never before experienced, and when they also saw that their arrows did no harm, they turned and fled, leaving the unhappy captain dead upon the ground. From this deed the Indians became very much frightened.

A few days after the above incident the captain arrived with the Fathers, bringing the equipment for the Mission of San Buenaventura, but fearing that the Indians might make some attempt to avenge the death of their chief, he decided to increase the guard of the San Gabriel Mission up to the number of sixteen soldiers. For this reason and because of the distrust he had for the rest of them in view of so many desertions, it became necessary to suspend the establishment of the Mission of San Buenaventura until the success of this one of San Gabriel could be assured, so that the two friars assigned to the former Mission remained here with their equipment until further orders were received. The commander then went on with his remaining soldiers to Monterey, taking with him the soldier who had killed the Indian in order that he might not serve as a means of provocation to the rest. But it should be said that his unworthy conduct had been kept hidden both from the captain and from the Fathers up to this time.

So we see that four Missionaries remained in charge of the station of San Gabriel, but as the two formerly assigned to the work here were taken sick they had to retire shortly after to Old California, and the two assigned to San Buenaventura remained in charge and continued with all possible kindness and tact to attract to the Mission the pagans who, little by little, came to forget the deed of the soldier and the death of their chief, and to bring in some of their children to be baptized. One of the first of these children was the son of the unfortunate chieftain whom the widow gladly gave to the Fathers for this purpose, and her example was followed by many others, so that the number of Christians began to increase. Two years after the founding of the Mission, on the occasion of my visit to it, they had baptized seventy-three, and at the time of the death of our Venerable Father the number was 1019 neophytes.

CHAPTER XXX

The Venerable Father Sends His Companion to Explore the Port of Our Father, St. Francis.

AS the commander, Don Pedro Fages, found on his arrival at Monterey that the Mission of San Carlos had been moved to the Carmel River, he went on thither in order to report to the Venerable Father Junípero all that had happened in the way. The account caused this Servant of God great pain as he realized the failure to establish the Mission of San Buenaventura, especially as this was one of the first three to be projected and which His Lordship, the Inspector-General, Don José de Galvez, especially called his own; but seeing that it had not been the fault of the Missionaries he thanked God because it had been possible to found the other Mission of San Gabriel, and he trusted in His Divine Majesty that, whenever it should be pleasing to Him, that Mission would be established under better auspices and with less of anxiety. This wish the Lord saw fit to grant thirteen years after the first plan had been made, and although it was the last which the Venerable Father had founded, it could be said of it, as was said of the Seraphic Doctor San Buenaventura when the Holy Church ordained his canonization, "*Tamen quo tardius eo solemnius,*"[16] as we shall see farther on in the narrative.

When the Venerable Fr. Junípero perceived that this project could not soon be realized, he proposed to the commander that he undertake the founding of the Mission of San Luis [Obispo], but the latter excused himself on the same ground, saying that if he diminished the number of his troop and some word of trouble were to come from San Gabriel of an uprising of the Indians there, he would be unable to go to their rescue, but as soon as it was certain that all danger of disturbance had passed he would gladly proceed to the founding of the Mission of San Luis.

When the zealous prelate considered that, as long as nothing of particular interest occurred in the station down the coast, no courier was likely to be dispatched, and that the officials in Lower [old] California would let the year go by without doing anything because they would be waiting for such a message, and no progress would be made, he proposed to Commander Fages that, in the meanwhile, he proceed to the exploring of the port of our Father San Francisco in order to choose the site which might be most appropriate for the Mission, and at the same time get into communication with the pagan people of that region and win their good will in order that so much would be gained against the time when they would be able to establish the Mission. To this the Commander agreed, offering to go in person with Father Crespi, as soon as the rainy season should pass, if up to that time there was no news from below.

About the middle of the month of March, as the rains had ceased and as there was no courier from San Gabriel and as it was taken for granted that everything was all right, the expedition left Monterey on the 20th of this month, of the year 1772. The Rev. Father Crespi gives a full account of this journey in his diary, at the conclusion of his other reports (and I refer the curious reader to them).[17] They were hindered from making a complete exploration to their entire satisfaction by the news which was received by courier from San Diego that that port was in danger of being left without provisions, as the supplies had little by little been exhausted and as Father Dumetz had gone down into Lower California to seek supplies; for although the packet-boat "San Antonio" had brought out that year its usual cargo of provisions, there had been a considerable increase in the number of consumers, both of the peons who had remained ashore from the vessel and of the neophytes who had been added to the Mission. For this reason the supply had little by little become exhausted.

As soon as the Commander received this word (he was away on the trip of exploration at the time) he returned to Monterey as is indicated in the diary and immediately sent off a mule-train loaded with provisions in order to supply the need of San Diego and also of San Gabriel. For from the same courier it had been learned that there were no signs of trouble from the Indians in this last Mission, but that the two friars in charge of it had gone back to Old California on account of sickness and that the Missionaries of San Buenaventura had taken their place, as I have already said. In view of this and of the fact that Father Fr. Luis Jayme had been left alone at San Diego, Father Juan Crespi was sent with the mule-train as he had just arrived from the exploring trip to San Francisco.

This assistance arrived in due time at San Gabriel and San Diego, and a little later the other supplies which I had ordered sent from Old California also arrived, as did the new Missionary sent out, and Father Dumetz who also returned. In this way the needs of the stations in the south were well supplied, but very shortly a scarcity was felt in Monterey, for as the vessel which was to bring out the provisions was delayed in coming three months longer than in preceding years, the people of the latter place began to feel the stress of famine, as they had sent a goodly part of their own supplies to help the people of the port of San Diego. In view of this necessity Commander Don Pedro Fages found himself obliged to leave in the garrison a small number of soldiers and to take the rest of them into the mountains to a place called Canyada de los Osos (the Canyada of the Bears) about fifty leagues distant from the garrison, where he had a killing of these wild beasts, and where he also purchased wild grains from the Indians with which the people of the station were able to maintain themselves. This famine lasted until the arrival of the vessel. The Fathers did not really suffer any evil results from the privations because they had been supplied by the gentiles, as we shall see in the following letter from the Venerable Father Junípero.

CHAPTER XXXI

Letter of the Venerable Father Containing Various News and the Arrival of the Vessel.

LONG live Jesus, Mary and Joseph — Rev. Father Lector and President, Fr. Francisco Palou — Dearly Beloved Friend and Sir: I do not wish to complain of the limited time I have for writing to your Reverence because I don't care to excuse myself with the old fear that I am always afraid that this which I write with great effort may never arrive in your hands. But I will say first that, thanks to God, I am well and that nothing has happened to me or to any of my companions among the Fathers in spite of the famine which has brought death to many poor people in this region. I want to say next that just when we were expecting the vessel and the word had reached us that there were to be two ships which were to come to this port, we now learn that after both had reached this latitude, and though one of them was within a few leagues of this Mission, neither was able to make port. The captain of "El Principe" (our good Don Juan Perez) writes that now he can't come, that he is in San Diego, and that we are to go there if we want any of the things which he has brought. The other, Don Miguel Pino, with Canizares, writes that he is in the channel of Santa Barbara and that he sails for San Diego, that we will find everything there and nothing here. We can comfort ourselves with the thought that the two Missions of San Diego and San Gabriel will no longer be in danger. The Mission here, that of San Antonio, and the garrison are not in danger of being abandoned, but one thing is sure and that is, that our people will have to suffer some days of hardship. Our pack-mules are very few and in no shape for a long trip by land.

The principal sources of supply for our people have been the pagans. Through their kindness we are alive, because God willed it so. To be sure the milk from the cows and the few vegetables from the garden have been two great sources of sustenance for these establishments, but both of these are daily becoming scantier. Not for that account do I feel any concern, nor should your Reverence grieve that these Missions have been founded as it is in no way a cause for grief to any one of those who have come to occupy these Missions. The discomfort is found only in the fact that the lack of workers among us makes it impossible to proceed with the founding of the new Missions. The Fathers of San Luis have at last been relieved of the tension of fourteen long months of waiting by the news of the abundant provisions which the vessels have brought, and the Mission will soon be founded. All the necessary things for it are already at hand.

If for the foundation of the Mission here we may have to wait for such a time as supplies can be sent up from below, and if the progress has to depend upon the coming of a ship, many years may pass without anything being done, on account of the difficulties of reaching these remote regions with the necessary succor, in view of the difficulties which your Reverence feels and understands even better than myself. All the Missionaries are groaning and we all deplore the vexations, the hardships and the delays which we have to endure, but no one desires or thinks of leaving his Mission. The fact is that, hardship or no hardship, there are many souls saved in heaven, and souls converted in Monterey, in San Antonio and San Diego and perhaps in San Gabriel, though I have not heard of any yet. There is quite a considerable number of Christians who praise God, and His Holy Name is in the mouth of these same gentiles more frequently than in that of many Christians. And although some have declared that these apparently gentle lambs will some day all of them turn into tigers and lions, indeed it might be so if God would permit it, but speaking of those of Monterey, we have now had experience of them for three years and with those of San Antonio, two years, and we can say that every day they grow better.

And above all, the promise which God made in these last days to our Father San Francisco (as the Seraphic Mother Mary of Jesus says),[18] that the pagans have only to look upon his sons in order to be converted to our Holy Catholic Faith is something which I have seen and felt in my own experience for if, indeed, there are any here that are not Christians it is in my judgment simply because of our ignorance of the language. This learning of a new language is not new to me, but I imagine I have very little grace for it, on account of my sins, and in lands such as these where it is not possible to secure an interpreter nor a teacher, humanly speaking, until some one of these people can learn to use the Castilian, necessarily some time must be allowed to pass before one can accomplish much.

This difficulty has already been overcome in San Diego and adults are being baptized and marriages celebrated; and here we are preparing to do the same thing because the young men are beginning to make explanations of things in the Castilian. As to the rest, if some help comes now, it will not be long before it will matter very little to us whether the vessels come or not as far as provisions are concerned, but as things are now, the Missions can make little headway. But withal I trust in God that all is to be remedied.

But now we come to the matter of principal importance. I am going to San Diego with Commander Don Pedro Fages, and if it should happen that your Reverence should undertake to explore the stretch of country lying between San Fernando Vellicatá and that port in order to distribute in it the five new Missions, and it might be that you are doing that-thing now, the occasion might arise in which we could personally embrace each other in the middle or toward the end of September, and so our mutual communication would take the place of many letters, and we could discuss at our leisure how best to carry on this great work which, without deserving it, the God, our Lord, has put into our hands. The great comfort which such a meeting with you would bring to me I leave to the imagination of your Reverence, but please do not come just for my sake, but only in case you think it wise for the greatest good of all. We could make our plans to return each one to his own field before the rainy season, and it seems to me there would be time for it all. But above all, I do ask most earnestly that, either with your Reverence or else by themselves, two more friars be allowed to come at this time, in order to secure the founding of San Buenaventura or to take the place of the Missionaries at San Gabriel who, on account of sickness, had to leave. If these two were to come to take the place of the two sick ones who have gone I will understand that I am not to ask for any more help, except it be from the College itself. Try to see to it that those who are to come are well provided with patience and charity and in that case they will have a joyous time and will here become very rich,— I say, rich in hardships; but then, whither goes the ox that does not plow? And if he does not plow, how can there be harvest?

During my absence Father Pieras, with one of the Fathers from San Luis [Obispo], will take charge of the administration of this Mission and another one will go to San Antonio, where Father Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar has been left alone, in order that he may be so much nearer the place in which he is to begin his Mission. The Mission of San Antonio which, on San Buenaventura's day, celebrated its first anniversary, has been suffering the lack of the necessities of life and has had recourse entirely to the grains harvested by the pagans and to the native cornmeal. This Mission owes the good Father Pieras the charity of more than four mule-loads of provision of this sort as on his last visit to me he brought me three. From Father Fr. Juan [Crespi] I send you no word because from his letters you will know all about his trip; in short, I will not write further; if we see each other, we can talk it all over (with the favor of God); and if not, I hope I can write again more at length.

If your Reverence should have occasion to write to our College, please inform them concerning all the news which you have from us, so that if my letters do not arrive they will at least, through your medium, have word concerning these lands and Missions. I send my kindest regards to each one of the Fathers of those Missions, both to old and young, and pray them to remember me in their prayers. Tell those who know me to excuse me for not writing them personal letters for the reasons I have already given at the beginning, and also because I have had to do most of my writing at night. If Fathers Lasuen and Murguia are among those who are to come out into these desert regions, don't forget to tell them what I said about patience and good spirits, etc. I desire that your Reverence may have an ample supply of both which if I am correctly informed are no less needed in those regions than in these. May God grant them to us all, and may He keep your Reverence many years in His holy Love and Grace. Mission of San Carlos, of Monterey, on the Carmel. August 18, 1772. I kiss the hand of your Reverence. Your affectionate Friend, Companion and Servant, Fr. Junípero Serra.

At the same time that the Venerable Father wrote me this letter I also received letters from His Excellency, the Viceroy, and from the Rev. Father Guardian of the College, in which he gave me the news of the compact made with the Reverend Dominican Fathers for the delivery to them of Old California.[19] I learned also that two friars were on their way to Monterey to take charge of the Mission of San Buenaventura and they were informed concerning this new measure and were instructed to ask him (Father Junípero) to let me know how many friars would be needed in order that they might not return to the College. But when the letter reached San Diego the Venerable Servant of God had already embarked for San Blas in order to pass on to the capital [City of Mexico] and there present his report to His Excellency, the Viceroy, as we shall see later.

CHAPTER XXXII

The Venerable Father Goes Down to San Diego and on the Way Founds the Mission of San Luis Obispo.

WHEN the Venerable Father learned from the letters of the captain that the vessels would not come up to Monterey, and when he saw that the mules were in no condition to bring the freight by land he decided to make the sacrifice and visit San Diego and there have an interview with those naval officers, and on his way take the first step in the founding of the Mission of San Luis Obispó de Tolosa, and on his return found that of San Buenaventura. He left Monterey in company with Don Pedro Fages who was going on the same mission after having sent off the courier. His first visit on the way was to the Mission of San Antonio. He was delighted to see here such a large number of Christians, and he took with him from this place Father Fr. Joseph Cavaller for the establishing of the Mission of San Luis. They traveled twenty-five leagues farther and came to the mouth of the Canyada of the Bears (where, as I have said, the soldiers made a slaughter of these animals in order to provide food for the people during the time of the famine). Here they found a very desirable site, with good lands for the raising of grain, and a beautiful clear stream of water for irrigating.

The timber was prepared for a large Cross and when it had been set up they venerated it and formally took possession of the land. This act of founding the Mission took place on the 1st of September of the year 1772, Mass being said in a little shelter of branches by our Venerable Father Junípero. He left the following day to continue his journey to San Diego, but he left behind two of the Californian Indians in order to help, and the captain left a corporal with four soldiers for a guard, promising the Father that on his return he would bring the number up to sixteen, but now he needed the men to drive the cattle and the provision-train. On account of the very limited supply of provisions, he left, for the maintenance of the Father, the five soldiers and the two Indians, only fifty pounds of flour and three pecks of wheat, and that they might buy grains from the gentile Indians he also left a box of red sugar. With this very limited supply the Father was very well content, putting all his trust in God, and with this they said good-by.

As soon as our travelers had begun their long voyage the Missionary Father of San Luis set the Indians to work cutting the wood for the construction of the little chapel which was to serve for a church and the other little building for the dwelling place of the Father. The soldiers did the same, erecting their barracks and stockade for defence. Although in that region there was no village of any kind, the Indians soon began to arrive, attracted by the novelty, and as it had been only three months since the soldiers had been there at the time of the slaughter of the bears (for which they were very thankful, as the land had been rid of these fierce animals, who had killed many of the Indians, of whom not a few of those who were still alive showed the terrible scars of their dreadful claws), they were glad to show themselves delighted that our people had come among them to live. They began to visit the Mission with great frequency, bringing little presents of venison and wild grains to the Father, who returned the favor by giving them trinkets and sugar. Through this assistance, provided by the gentiles, they were able to get along very well in this place until the ships which were bringing provisions had arrived.

One year after the Mission had been founded, on the occasion of my visit to it, there were there twelve Christians and with the four families of the Californian Indians and a few converted young men whom I left behind, the Mission was increased both in equipment and in the number of believers. With this help the number of gentiles converted continued constantly to increase so that when the Venerable Father President died, there had been baptized six hundred and sixteen converts. This Mission of San Luis Obispo de Tolosa is situated upon a hill, down the side of which flows a stream, with a plentiful supply of water for the irrigating of the lands which lie close below and which produce abundant harvests, not only enough for the maintenance of all the Christians but also to supply the garrisons, so that in exchange clothing has been bought for the Indians. The fertility of the soil is such that from whatever seed you may plant you may be sure of an abundant harvest. It is situated at latitude 35 degrees, 38 minutes north, about three leagues distant from the sea (where there is a bay called Buchon, opening to the west). A good road communicates with the shore and the neophyte Indians have there their little canoes for the catching of several kinds of very savory fish. The Mission is fifty leagues distant from the garrison of Monterey, which lies to the northwest, and twenty-five leagues from San Antonio. This stretch of country is well populated with pagan tribes whose evangelization from these Mission centers will not be easy until intermediate stations have been built, and also because these people are not accustomed to move away from their tribal lands, and further because of the difference in their language. At almost every step we find a different dialect, so that, thus far, we have no two Missions in which the people speak the same tongue. The climate of San Luis is very healthy, the winters being cold and the summers hot, but not in excess. The weather in the town is sometimes a little disagreeable on account of the winds which are noticeable, due to the elevation of the place. The Mission has been much troubled by fire as on three occasions they have had accidents of this sort. The first time an Indian started it with a burning wick which he had tied to an arrow and shot into the thatch of the roof. On this account the Mission suffered considerable loss both in the building and furniture. The second time was on Christmas day when all the Fathers were in Church singing the Midnight Mass. When the fire started, no one knows, nor just how, but it was easily put out, as there were so many people present attending the service. The last time the conflagration was much greater, causing a great deal of damage, without any one being able to find out if it was by accident or through malice. In order to avoid similar dangers and losses the Fathers decided to put on a roof of tile which one of them was ingenious enough to make, although none of them had ever learned just how to do it. The Mission seems now to be free from fire as the buildings are all well tiled and the other Missions have seen fit to imitate their example.

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Venerable Father Continues His Journey. Visits the Mission of San Gabriel and Reaches San Diego. An Important Conference.

THE desire of our Venerable Father Junípero to achieve the founding of new Missions, which seemed never to be satisfied, may have had to do with the shortening of his life, at least we may say that, hindered in his plans to found the Missions which had been projected, for the lack of laborers, he so felt the burden of it that God shortened the time of his pilgrimage here in order that he might pass on to the eternal life and there present his petitions in the celestial court, asking that more laborers be sent out for the continued work of evangelization. He had now seen the founding of this, the fifth of the Missions to be established in this New California, and three were lacking of those which had been projected, one of them being that which had first place in the attention of the promoters of the expedition, namely, that of the Seraphic San Buenaventura, not only for the reasons already expressed in Chapter XXV, but also because they had learned of the very large number of people which inhabit the land along the Channel [of Santa Barbara] and from whom much spiritual fruit was to be gathered by the establishing of this Mission in the place designated for it to which had already been given the name of The Assumption of Our Lady and where there was a large town of the Indians. Our Apostolic Fr. Junípero, however, had not been able to visit this place.

Laboring under the burden of this great desire he left the Mission of San Luis [Obispo] and hastened on his journey as it was very important that he should arrive as soon as possible at San Diego. He traversed the eighty leagues which lie between San Luis and San Gabriel, all of them well populated with pagan people and in the twenty leagues along the coast which constitutes the Channel of Santa Barbara, where it seemed to him the number of Indians was much greater even than had been represented to him, and each one of them made his heart ache with the desire of establishing in that region at least three Missions. He reached the end of the Channel on his way south and there found the place afterwards called The Assumption, and supposing that it was the same place which had been designated for the Mission of San Buenaventura the Venerable Father did not wish to go on without exploring it. This he did, accompanied by the Commander, and it seemed to both of them that the place was very appropriate for the establishment of a Mission, as all the requirements in the regulations for such Missions were here abundantly met. Having finished the exploration they went on their way.

They arrived at the Mission of San Gabriel (which was the only one that the Venerable Servant of God had not seen) and here he was filled with extraordinary joy on seeing such a goodly number of Christians who were praising God. He showed them all great affection, as he did also to their parents who were still gentile, and it gave him special pleasure to see that fine stretch of wide plain capable of sustaining a large city. He congratulated the Fathers and thanked them for the great labor which they had accomplished, both in spiritual and temporal things, and then, without stopping to rest, he continued his journey, taking with him one of the friars that he might receive the equipment belonging to the Mission as well as that of San Buenaventura. So they arrived without incident at the port of San Diego on the 16th of September.

He had no sooner arrived than he sought an interview with the naval officers, in spite of the fact that after so long a journey he was extremely weary, especially as this Venerable Servant of God still suffered seriously from the sore on his foot and leg. In the conversation with the captain and commander of the vessel, Don Juan Pérez, his fellow countryman, he made him see how impossible it was to make the trip of one hundred and sixty leagues by land to Monterey, through pagan territory, without the necessary equipment of good mules to carry the freight and of troops to act as guard, setting forth at the same time the great suffering which had been caused by the delay of the vessel, this fact contributing in no small degree to the desertion of the troops and of their going over to the pagan people where they became depraved by their pagan customs, and if others had not done the same thing it was because of the hope that the vessel would arrive soon; and now, if when two of them had arrived, the great need was not met, they were likely all of them to march off, and so bring about the loss of the three Missions of the north which had been founded.

The Commander tried to escape from this obligation by alleging that the season was greatly advanced and that winter would overtake him while in that port, and that the *packet-boat was not built* to stand the hard weather of that high latitude. But the Venerable Father Junípero greatly encouraged him, saying that he must trust in God our Lord for whom he was doing this service, as the main purpose of the work was that of converting souls, and our Lord would not allow the weather to interfere as the service that they were doing was for His holy sake. With these strong arguments, to which must be added his great respect for the virtue of the Venerable Fr. Junípero and his faith in his prayers, Commander Pérez resolved that he would go up the coast with the packet-boat and its cargo as far as Monterey and that he would immediately order preparations for a voyage.

Having arranged this business which had had most to do with his coming to San Diego, Fr. Junípero set himself to conclude his remaining tasks. This fervent prelate found himself with four Missionaries in San Diego, counting in the company Father Dumetz of Old California, and he had at hand my letter in which I sent him word of two other Missionaries whom I had sent out from Loreto. In view of this he sent off, with the provision train which Commander Fages had charge of, the Fathers Crespi and Dumetz, intending to leave in San Diego with Father Fr. Luis Jayme, the Father Fr. Tomas de la Peña (of the Province of Cantabria), who had just arrived from Old California, and then with the others he planned to go on to the founding of the Mission of San Buenaventura. As soon as he found himself free from the labor of these preparations, both as to the sailing of the packet-boat for Monterey and also the dispatching of the provision train which was to go by land, our Venerable Father Junípero began to prepare the things necessary for the founding of the new Mission, expecting every moment the arrival of the two Fathers mentioned in the letter.

He discussed this matter with Commander Fages and the need of a military guard as well as other necessary equipment for the work. Here e discovered that the door of succor was shut in his face, and that this Commander had gone ahead and was making such arrangements that, f carried out, instead of helping him to found more Missions, would greatly imperil the safety of those which, with so great labor, he had acrificed himself to establish. In order to oppose these dispositions, hich could not help but result in such loss, the Venerable Father made se of every means which his skill and prudence could dictate, but he ound that he could accomplish nothing in this direction. This situation led him to understand that the change in plan had its origin in the change that had taken place in the Government, and because of the absence of the Viceroy and the Inspector-General under whose charge, as the persons most immediately concerned in this Conquest, the Missions had enjoyed hitherto abundant protection; and seeing that the new Viceroy was not yet acquainted with the situation of the new Missions, the lack of direct orders in regard to them had produced this opposition. He went over the whole matter with the three Missionaries present in San Diego, that is, the two of that place and the other from San Gabriel, and it seemed to them that it was quite necessary that either the Venerable Father President or some other Missionary whom he might be pleased to send, should be sent to Mexico in order to report to his Excellency.

This idea of presenting a report of the work greatly appealed to the Venerable Father, but in order better to reach a decision he ordered that the next day, being the 13th of October, and dedicated to St Daniel and his companions, a solemn Mass should be sung in order that they might ask God for Divine direction as to what might be his will. In the meantime each of the friars agreed to take it to the Lord in prayer. This they did and after the singing of the Mass, a meeting of the four Missionaries was held. They were all of one mind in the matter and that was, that the Venerable Father, who was President and who knew all about the situation, should go; but if, on account of his lameness and his advanced age, that could not be, that he should name any one he pleased.

Upon hearing this statement of his three companions our Venerable Fr. Junípero agreed that he would make the journey of two hundred leagues by land, after the sea voyage, setting on one side all thought of his lameness and his advanced age of sixty years. Putting all his trust in God, for whose sake he took up the burden, he embarked on the packet-boat "San Carlos" which sailed from San Diego on the 20th of October, and after a voyage of two weeks anchored in the harbor of San Blas without incident. On going ashore in this port the Venerable Father learned news which will be set forth in the following chapter, in a copy of a letter which I shall insert, which he might have learned about in the harbor of San Diego if he had delayed his sailing for but a few days, as I had written letters in September and they were carried by the Fathers who were en route for the Mission of San Buenaventura and who arrived in San Diego just after the sailing of the vessel.

CHAPTER XXXIV

The Journey of the Venerable Father from San Blas to Mexico City. Copy of the Letter which He Wrote Me from Tepic. Happenings on the Way.

As soon as the Venerable Father Junípero set foot in the land of Christians, having left his heart behind him among the pagan people of Monterey, he started for Tepic with the companion whom he had brought with him, a converted young man from among the first to be baptized in Monterey. The lad was of much service to him because he attracted the attention of every one, not only on the road, but in Mexico, and even of the Viceroy himself, who looked upon him as an emblem of the first fruits of this Spiritual Conquest. On arriving at Tepic and finding lodgment in the Convent of the Holy Cross of the Province of Jalisco, he wrote me the following letter:

Long live Jesus, Mary and Joseph. Beloved Friend and Esteemed Sir: If your Reverence has received the letter which I charged the Fathers of San Diego to write to you, when I saw it was impossible for me to do so, you will already have learned of my having sailed. The voyage was without incident, through God's mercy, for, after a fortnight at sea, we anchored in San Blas and went ashore on the 4th of the present month. It was not till then that I heard the news of the complete transfer of our Missions [of Lower California to the charge of the Dominican Order]. Upon arrival here on the 7th (where I found Fathers Martinez and Imaz, the rest having already departed for Mexico) I learned that your Reverence had sent a courier to San Diego who must have arrived there very shortly after my departure. Father Martinez tells me that the Rev. Father Guardian, out of the score or more of the Missionaries who still remain in those old stations, has assigned only four for the new ones; and he also says that your Reverence would like to know if more are needed.

To this I reply: that it seems to me it would be a great pity that the friars who are so near at hand should have to return again over so long a road, greatly increasing labor and expense. Father Cruzado has asked me permission to retire and it is his due, seeing how much he has labored and he cannot do any more. Father Paterna, only at my most earnest request, will perhaps remain, if affairs take on a better aspect, but he has also asked for permission (to retire). I have asked for a third Missionary for Monterey, in order that I may be free to go and come, because it is quite necessary that there should be there two persons to say Mass on the Holy Days, one in the Mission and the other at the presidio. I believe that it would bring joy to the College if we could found the Missions of San Buenaventura, Santa Clara and San Francisco, and with the assistance which I hope to obtain this will not be difficult. On the other hand, in view of the tremendous distance, it would be very desirable indeed if we had one or two extra men.

From all this, in a word, it is my judgment that at least eight or ten should go up at once on the first voyage of the vessel, and seeing that the return trip is easily made on account of favorable wind, not very much would be lost. Some one may say that the question of food might prove an obstacle to my proposal, but to this I answer that there is plenty to eat, and as the friars will be scattered in various Missions, none of them will suffer lack, and I trust in God that in much less than a year, which is the longest time help in the future might be delayed, none of them will ever die of hunger.

Father Martinez also tells me that your Reverence is one of those commissioded to go by the Father Guardian, although the matter is left to your decision. If you decide that we are to live and to die there together it will be for me the greatest of consolations, but this only I want to say, that your Reverence should do as God may direct you and I will be resigned to the Divine will. I would also say that my proposal concerning the above mentioned number of friars is my desire simply in case the tenor of the letter of the Rev. Father Guardian is such that this interpretation may be given it; but if he says clearly that only four are to be sent and that the rest are to return to the College I have nothing more to say, only pray that God may remedy the matter, and in the meantime let us be obedient.

If there were only time for me to write all this to the Father Guardian and have a reply and send it on to you before the departure of the friars, the whole matter could be easily arranged, but I doubt very much if this be possible. I set out tomorrow, God willing, on my journey. Give my regards to all my dear brethren, both those I know and those I do not, and I remain praying that God keep your Reverence many years in His Holy Love and Grace. Convent of the Holy Cross at Tepic. November 10, 1772. I kiss the hand of your Reverence. Your affectionate Brother, Friend and Servant.—Fr. Junípero Serra. To the Rev. Father Lector and President, Fr. Francisco Palou.

It seems that God, our Lord, as the Master of his own mystic estate, answered the fervent desires of his diligent steward, who with so great earnestness was seeking for laborers for the fields of spiritual harvest, for at the very time that I received the above letter I received another from the Rev. Father Guardian, dated the 11th of November (written one day after that of Father Fr. Junípero), in answer to one which I had written him in September, proposing exactly the same thing which the Venerable Father now writes me in November, and I had only added that I hoped his answer would come as soon as possible, and that in case the transfer of the Missions was to take place, I would see to it, as I did not doubt that his Reverence had considered it advisable. To this he replied in the letter of date already mentioned as follows:

"I agree with all you suggest concerning the sending of the Fathers to Monterey, only I fear that there will be a stipend only for those belonging to the presidio." With this reply at hand I started for the north with seven others, not counting the two that I had sent on ahead; so that it will be seen that our Venerable Father had his wishes granted; namely, that the founding of the new Mission would not be delayed for the lack of Missionaries.

Our servant of God continued his journey toward Mexico, taking with him the Indian neophyte from Monterey. On arriving at the city of Guadalajara, eighty leagues distant from San Blas, and one hundred and twenty from Mexico, both were taken sick with a serious and malignant typhoid fever which brought them so near to death's door that they both received extreme unction. The Venerable Father felt much less concerned about himself than about the Indian, because the lad's relatives and countrymen in Monterey would find it hard to believe that he had met with a natural death, and so difficulties might arise which would hinder the work; so he continued to pray with all his heart (as he often told me he did) for the restoring to health of the young man, forgetting all about himself. Anticipating that something of this sort might happen to him on the road, he had prepared a paper containing notes of all the things which he considered of importance which he would like to ask His Excellency for, and this paper had been sent from Tepic to the Rev. Father Guardian of the College in case he were to die on the road. But God permitted him to regain his health and also see his companion recovered. As soon as they were somewhat convalescent they continued their journey.

They arrived at the city of Querétaro, which is only forty leagues from Mexico City, and having gone to lodge in the College of the Holy Cross, the Reverend Father fell sick again with the same malady. He was immediately placed in the infirmary, as he himself believed he was about to die, as he said to the Rev. Father Guardian of the College, and afterwards related to me. On the third visit, which one of the doctors of the college made him, he ordered him to receive the Sacraments. That same afternoon, in which he was to receive the Holy Viaticum, another of the doctors came to the College, though it was not his turn to be on duty, and having heard from one of the friars that they were going to administer the Sacraments to the Father President of Monterey, moved by curiosity more than by the sense of his duty as a physician, he went in to see him, without any one having asked him to do so. He spoke to the sick man and inquired concerning his disease; then he felt his pulse and immediately said to the nurse, "Is this the Father to whom they are to administer the Sacrament? If this is the case, you had better administer them to me as well. Get up, Father. You are well and there is nothing the matter with you. Send word to the Father Guardian that you are not to receive the Sacraments." The prelate hurried in, filled with joy on hearing of his sudden restoration, and he said to him, "If it were not so late (it was the hour of the compline at the close of which the Sacraments were to have been administered to the Venerable Father) I would have him arise at once, as he is indeed well, but to-morrow he shall get up and as soon as he has recovered strength he shall go on his way." This he did and arrived at Mexico on the 6th of February, 1773, very tired, careworn and emaciated.

CHAPTER XXXV

Favorable Dispositions which He Secured from His Excellency, the Viceroy, for the Spiritual Conquest.

OF such great importance was the visit of our Venerable Father President to the City of Mexico that doubtless, if he had not undertaken this toilsome journey, there would have been the greatest danger that the Spiritual Conquest would have been abandoned; for as His Excellency, the Knight Commander Don Antonio Maria Bucareli, had so recently taken charge of the affairs of State, he was without particular instruction as to what this Conquest really was, and did not know that its existence depended upon the Department of San Blas for the sending out of help by sea to these establishments, as there was no other means of communication. It seems that up to the month of February there had been received no report at all at the palace concerning the port and concerning the ships, or the time when, as in other years, the ships should be out at sea and about to arrive at their destinations. On the other hand the question had come up whether it was not advisable to abandon the port of San Blas and to send the people elsewhere.

There were some who had said to His Excellency that when he had delivered to the Commander in charge of the troop at the garrison of Monterey the provision for the troop and to the Sindico of the College the stipends for the Missionaries there was nothing else to be done. Others, still more pious, though taking into consideration that these new establishments could not maintain communication with Mexico in order to provide themselves with clothing and provisions except by sea, said that for this purpose there was no need of a Department at San Blas: that things could be sent on mule-back as far as the Provinces of Sinaloa and the port of Guaymas (about five hundred leagues from Mexico), and from that port they said that the freight could be transported in launches (of which there are none) up the Gulf as far as the Bay of San Luis, about two hundred leagues, and finally, from there on mule-back they could be carried to Monterey, a distance of three hundred leagues, through territory entirely occupied by pagan peoples. By this plan it would be necessary to carry the freight of clothing and provisions eight hundred leagues by land and nearly two hundred by sea, and to meet the expenses of freightage it would require every bit of the funds set aside for the stipend of the Missionaries and for the commissary department, besides two years that would be spent in the journey, without taking into account what might be lost on the way. This was the state of things as respects the question of provisioning the establishments when Father Junípero arrived in the city.

After informing himself well concerning these matters and receiving the blessing of the Reverend Father Guardian of the College, he sought an interview with His Excellency in order to treat of these matters. The latter received him with every manifestation of affection and had him give an account of the reason for his coming to the capital. When the Viceroy heard his story he replied that he would do all he could to help in the work of the Conquest and asked that he (the Father) set down in writing all the points that he considered of importance for the best welfare of the Missions, both in spiritual and in temporal things. To this the Venerable Father replied that he would do so, but that he could not help asking that he immediately give orders for the sending of provisions at the earliest possible moment, because if help was not sent out from San Blas there was no other source from which it could be had. When His Excellency heard this he asked him to prepare in writing the reasons which he considered justified the maintenance of that department, as the question of abandoning the port was being considered. As a result of this first visit the favorable dispositions which our Venerable Father had so much desired were put into operation. In the meantime he retired to the College in order to prepare in writing the reports which His Excellency had asked for, and this gentleman sent off at the same time an urgent order to San Blas, commanding that the work on the construction of a frigate which had been begun and which had been ordered suspended, should be brought to a finish; and at the same time a packet-boat should be gotten ready, loaded with provisions, and dispatched with all speed for Monterey.

This was done, and the San Carlos set sail under the command of Captain Don Juan Pérez, but he had the misfortune to encounter bad weather which did not allow him to get out of the Gulf but obliged him to put in at the harbor of Loreto with his rudder broken, and for that reason in no shape to continue the voyage. Here the provisions were unloaded and as there was no way or means by which they could be forwarded the greatest scarcity fell upon the Missions which they had ever suffered, as in the eight months which it lasted milk was the food for all, from the Commander and the Fathers down to the humblest individual, and among them I suffered with the rest, but thanks to God, we were all in good health.

The Venerable Father Junípero presented the report which His Excellency had asked him for with his reasons for the maintenance of the Department of San Blas, and so completely did they satisfy His Excellency that he sent the original copy to the court (in Spain) and received in return a royal decree ordering the conservation of that port, and that they should give to it everything required for its enlargement. For this purpose His Majesty ordered that from the Departments of Spain seven naval officers, lieutenants and ensigns for war-ships and for frigates, should be sent out, as well as squadron pilates, surgeons and chaplains to man the vessels, and others to administer the affairs of the Department. Having obtained from His Excellency the speedy rehabilitation of the Department of San Blas and the forwarding of provisions for the colonies, the Venerable Father Junípero set to work to prepare another report in which he indicated the necessary dispositions for the carrying on of the Conquest and the extension of our Holy Catholic faith. These he presented under thirty-two heads, setting forth in each one the reasons which proved the necessity of the dispositions required and the benefit which would result if carried out. He delivered this extensive outline personally to His Excellency, giving him by word of mouth the following reasons: "Your Excellency, I put into the hands of Your Excellency this outline from which you will see that what I say is the simple truth and that what I set forth I feel I ought to say in conscience because I consider it necessary and urgent, in order that the end may be reached which His Majesty has in authorizing these large expenses; namely, the conversion of many souls, which for a lack of the knowledge of our Holy Catholic faith, are groaning under the tyrannous slavery of the enemy of souls and which with the help of these means and dispositions may be easily accomplished. I hope that Your Excellency, after reading what I have written, will determine what you may think right and proper, being assured that I intend to return and that I desire to carry out the plan as soon as possible if I can obtain what I have asked for. In that case I shall return very content indeed; but if I do not obtain it I shall go away sad, but always resigned to the will of God."

Such humble resignation was so edifying to His Excellency that he immediately appointed himself Judge, Pleader and Patron of the cause. He ordered a Council of War and State to be held, over which he himself presided, and when each point of the outline had been gone over and examined by all the members, they all voted in favor of the Conquest, granting much more than the Venerable Father had asked. The Council ordered that rules should be drawn up for the direction of the government which should be put into operation in order to avoid those accidents which are accustomed to result from the sudden changes in commanders, as formerly each one had carried out the plans that most suited his temperament. The number of troops was increased, a provisional garrison was ordered established in San Diego, and afterwards another one in this port of San Francisco, and later another one in the Channel of Santa Barbara. Orders were given as to the way to provide the troops with provisions and clothing. The volunteers of Cataluña (foot soldiers) were ordered retired, and it was ordered that from now on all the troops should be leather-jacketed, with their Captain Commander from the same corps, as this troop was considered more efficient in the conquest of pagan lands.

For the development of the Missions already founded, as well as those in project, the rules required that to each one[20] should be given six body servants, paying them salary and rations on account of the royal treasury for a period of five years. These were also to help in the labor of the fields in order that from their example the neophytes might learn how to do the labor and how to become diligent and so be civilized. There were many other provisions very favorable and helpful for the Spiritual Conquest in addition to a great donation of corn, beans, flour, clothing, etc., which amounted to more than twelve thousand dollars, and one hundred mules, which were ordered divided among the Missions.

In order to prevent these new and remote Provinces from suffering need hereafter on account of accidents to the ships, His Excellency asked the Venerable Father President if it would not be worth while to discover a pass through the mountains by the way of the Colorado River, in order that it might be possible to communicate by land with this Province going in by way of the Provinces of Sinaloa, Sonora and the others of New Spain, so that in case of the loss of the vessel it would be possible to send aid by land.

When the Venerable Father Junípero received this communication he replied, also by writing, that it seemed to him a very desirable thing, adding that if it were feasible that a similar exploring expedition try to reach the Provinces from New Mexico, going straight across on the same parallel of latitude directly to the port of Monterey.

As soon as His Excellency, the Viceroy, saw that his idea met with the approval of the Venerable Father, he sent orders to the Captain of the garrison of Tubac on the frontier of Sonora, a man named Don Juan Bautista Anza, telling him to take the troops and the provisions necessary and to start on an exploring expedition from his garrison to that of Monterey, crossing the two rivers of the Gila and the Colorado. This was done, and the expedition accomplished its purpose without incident, as we shall see later.

As a result of the frequent discussions and the long conversations which His Excellency had with the earnest Fr. Junípero during the seven months in which the latter was in Mexico City he became much affected by his religious zeal for the conversion of souls and the extension of our Catholic faith and the dominions of our sovereign, so that he found it difficult to satisfy the new thirst which his long dealings with the Venerable Father had caused, while treating of so agreeable a matter as that of bringing about the evangelization of the pagans, who were scattered over the wide region of three hundred leagues of coast territory, now made known through the explorations of the expedition. He desired to know if there were not gentile people beyond the region already discovered in order that the Spiritual Conquest might be extended to them also. He proposed this to the Venerable Father, saying that he desired to send out a naval expedition to explore the coast and to see if it were populated and if there were any good ports for the establishing of new colonies, but that his wish could not be carried out for lack of vessels and seamen to man them.

When the Venerable Father Junípero heard this, as he was himself abnormally thirsty in this sense (for it seemed his thirst for the conversion of souls to Christianity never could be mitigated, nor did any difficulty seem too great for him), not only praised him for his thought, but offered to help in every way, saying that in the frigate which he had ordered finished and in the person of the Captain, Don Juan Pérez, His Excellency had all that was required for the carrying out of the plans, as they could immediately sail from Monterey as soon as he had left there his cargo of provisions and supplies. Such was the opinion which His Excellency had formed of the Venerable Fr. Junípero, that, without consulting any other than the opinion of his Reverence, he gave the necessary orders for the above mentioned expedition, which proved to be a success, as we shall see in due time.

CHAPTER XXXVI

He Sets Out from Mexico for San Blas, and Embarks for These Missions of Monterey.

AS soon as the Venerable Father Junípero found himself so well provided with aid (the donation of His Excellency, the Viceroy), not only for the maintenance and the clothing of his converted children but also for the increasing of their number, he began to count the hours until he could set out, without paying any attention to his own advanced age or to the incurable malady in his foot which he seemed to have forgotten, as he made no attempt to have it treated, though there was such a good opportunity to do so. This he did in the month of September, 1773, having for a companion the Rev. Father Lector Fr. Pablo Mugartegui, from the Province of Cantabria, whom the Rev. Father Guardian and the Venerable Discretory had appointed to go with him. This was a great delight to our Venerable Servant of God, not only because he would have a companion on so long a voyage but also because it would mean the addition of one more laborer in the vineyard of the Lord. He asked that he might say good-bye to the community in the refectory, begging the Rev. Father Guardian that he might be permitted to kiss the feet of every one of the friars, which he did, and asked him for his benediction, and that they would all pardon the unworthy example he had given them, and that they would commend him to God as now they would not see his face again. All were so deeply moved that they shed copious tears as they had been greatly edified by his wonderful humility and by the zeal with which he undertook so long a voyage at his advanced age and with his health so broken that he could hardly stand. They all feared that he would die on the road, but this fervent Father, putting all his trust in God, undertook the journey of two hundred leagues by land and they arrived without incident in Tepic. Here they had to remain till January of the following year, waiting for the ships to be gotten ready and loaded. The Venerable Fr. Junípero charged them to put on board the frigate the equipment for Monterey and the Missions of the North, and to load on the packet-boat "San Antonio" everything destined for the port of San Diego and for the other Missions, as this vessel was to sail directly to that port. The great donation of His Excellency he ordered divided between the two ships. Everything was finally arranged and they went on board, the Venerable Father and his companion, on the 24th of January of the year 1774, in the new frigate called "Santiago of New Galicia."

When about to go on board there were several who reminded the Venerable Father of what he had said before. They said: "Father President, your prophecy has been fulfilled, for you will remember that when you came on shore from Monterey you told us to hurry up with the building of the frigate as you intended to return in it to that port. But we laughed at you then as we were only thinking of setting fire to it in order to get the old iron out of her hulk, as every one was saying that the port was to be abandoned. But now we see your prophecy fulfilled and that you are really to sail in it. May God keep your Reverence and give you a good voyage." To this the Servant of God smiled with his usual modesty and tried to avoid any credit being given to himself. "It was the intense desire of seeing a large vessel employed in this service, one which would hold a goodly supply of provisions for my poor people up there, which led me to pronounce the wish, but now that God has granted our desire, let us thank Him for it, and I want to thank you also, and all the rest who have worked so hard for the sake of the poor creatures of Monterey."

The vessel set sail on the 24th of January and although the plan was to sail straight for Monterey, a minor incident obliged them to make the port of San Diego on the 13th of March, after a voyage of forty-nine days without incident. In spite of the fact that the Venerable Father was very anxious to reach Monterey and the Mission of San Carlos he could not help rejoicing in the Providence which allowed him to touch at this port and bring succor to those whom he found there and who were, as were all the rest, in the gravest need. With the arrival of the vessel there was plenty, and thanks to God they were never to have a similar experience. I will leave to the imagination of the reader the joy and contentment which the Venerable Father must have felt as he found his followers in good health and happy in the midst of their work, in spite of the hardships they had endured; and his joy was greatly increased when he saw the large number of converts, whom he caressed as if they were his own children, seeking in every way to show his great affection for them. The

Fathers were equally pleased to see him again and overjoyed to notice how much stronger and apparently younger he seemed than when he went away.

In spite of the fact that he could have traveled much more comfortably by sea to Monterey in the frigate which was soon to go on, he chose rather to go the one hundred and seventy leagues by land through the pagan territory, as he wanted to give an embrace to each one of his co-workers as he visited the Missions one by one, and at the same time thank them for not having abandoned their posts but rather stood firm in the midst of so great scarcity and for so long a time. But with the joy of visiting each Mission, the journey seemed short to our Venerable Father because he found so many new Christians on the way.

He also had the great pleasure of meeting on the road Captain Don Juan Bautista de Anza, of Sonora, who was on his way back from Monterey after having carried out the instructions given by His Excellency, the Viceroy, to open a road from Sonora to Monterey, as we have indicated in the preceding chapter. He told his Reverence that the pass had been discovered and communication established with the provinces of Sonora, and the news of course greatly pleased him. On the other hand, when he told him of the meager supply of food at Monterey, how there had not been even a little cake of chocolate with which to honor his presence at their breakfast table, but that they were all reduced simply to milk and a few vegetables, there being nothing with which to make bread or anything of that sort, the Father could not keep back the tears and he tried to hasten his journey so as to bring them help as soon as possible in the interval of the arrival of the frigate which had sailed from San Diego on the 6th of April, on the same date in which the Venerable Father also set out. The vessel arrived in Monterey on the 9th of May and his Reverence on the 11th of the same, so that there was general rejoicing and happiness not only in view of the help brought, but on account of the very favorable arrangements which had been made for the promoting of the Spiritual Conquest. Once for all cruel hunger was banished from these colonies, and we had besides the presence of our venerable Prelate, who, with his example, his fervor and enthusiasm, kindled a like fervor in all to press on in the work of the Lord's Vineyard.

CHAPTER XXXVII

The Frigate Leaves on an Exploring Expedition up the Coast Taking with it Two Missionary Fathers. A Second Expedition is Made with the Same Object.

AS has been already indicated in Chapter XXXV, from the many conversations held with our Venerable Father, there was engendered in the noble heart of His Excellency, the Viceroy, a desire for the saving of the gentiles which did not content itself with the discovery of Monterey, but longed for the further propagation of the Catholic Faith in the regions beyond if they were found to be inhabited. So it was in order to find out about them that the frigate "Santiago," under the command of Captain Don Juan Pérez, as soon as it had discharged its cargo at Monterey, started out to explore the coast as far north as possible, leaving time to return to Monterey for the equinox. His Excellency had expressed the wish that one of the Missionaries be sent to accompany the expedition, trusting in the promise which God had made to our Holy Father St. Francis (this promise he never forgot from the first time he heard it from the lips of the Venerable Fr. Junípero), namely, that the pagan people had only to see one of his sons in order to be immediately converted to our Holy Faith.

In order to carry out these devout wishes of His Excellency, two Missionaries were sent, Fr. Juan Crespi and Fr. Tomas de la Peña Saravia, both of them generously offering themselves for the voyage, in spite of the dangers which must accompany the exploration of an unknown coast, which had never been charted, and therefore making it likely that they would run upon some island or shoal or headland and so be shipwrecked. But, putting all trust in God because of the noble end they had in view, after receiving the benediction of the Prelate they went on board on the 11th of June of the year 1774, and at once set sail, returning on the 27th of August with no other accident than a few cases of scurvy among the crew.

From this exploring expedition the desires of His Excellency were only in part fulfilled. The frigate went north as far as latitude 55°, where they found a very large island which projects into the sea and which they called Santa Margarita, because it was discovered on that Saint's day. From that island back to Monterey they explored all the coast, which they found free from rocks and islands, with many good anchorages. They could see that it was populated, though they did not go on shore. Once when they tried to do so in order to set up the standard of the Holy Cross, as His Excellency had so much desired, they encountered a very strong wind which nearly upset the launch and put the sailors in danger of death.

Although, as we have said, they did not go on shore, they did succeed in having dealings with the natives in many places, as these latter came out in their canoes of wood, which are well built and capable of holding quite a large number of persons. They came up to the frigate and came on board to exchange their wooden trays, well worked and hollowed out, well-woven cloths made of fur which was long like wool, striped with various colors and very gaudy, *petates*, or mats, made of the bark of trees and of various colors, woven as if it were palm, as were also their hats, which were of the same material and pyramidal in shape, with a narrow brim. These they exchanged for pieces of iron, which they seemed anxious to obtain, as well as for beads and other trinkets.

The Indians were affable, of good build and of good color. They wore the skins of animals and the cloth I have spoken of, but some of them were entirely nude. The women were modestly covered, were of good color and not ill-looking, though they were made to look ugly by the custom they have, even with children, of perforating the lower lip and hanging from it a little piece of wood. With the slightest movement of the mouth as in speaking, this would flop up and cover the mouth and nose. All these details were forwarded to His Excellency by the Venerable President, as well as the diaries of the Fathers. These reports were by him forwarded to the royal Court and gave great pleasure to His Excellency.

THE SECOND EXPEDITION

As the great desires of His Excellency were not yet satisfied, he ordered a second expedition, directing them to go farther north and to try to see if there were not some port that would make it possible to go on shore and to take possession of the land in the name of our Catholic Majesty by planting there the standard of the Cross. In order to carry out these desires, he decided that in addition to the frigate, a schooner should be sent along to help in the work of exploration. He named as commander of the expedition and captain of the frigate, Don Bruno de Ezeta, lieutenant of the royal Squadron, and as second in command Don Juan Pérez, because he had practical knowledge of the coast. The schooner was put under the charge of Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra. His Excellency asked of our College that two friars be named to accompany the expedition and the Fathers Fr. Miguel de la Campa and Fr. Benito Sierra were named.

The expedition left the harbor of San Blas in the middle of March of the year 1775, and was exposed immediately to head winds and strong currents which carried them below latitude 17°, where they found themselves on the 10th of April. But the wind changed the following day and they made their way northward, and on the 9th of June were at latitude 41° 6′. They drew near to shore and found a very desirable port which was large enough to shelter quite a number of vessels at once. They went on shore and found the Indians very friendly and courteous. On the 11th of that month they took formal possession of the land by offering up a High Mass and preaching a sermon, terminating the ceremony with the hymn, *Te Deum laudamus*, and as it was the day of the most Holy Trinity, they gave this name to the port. They provided themselves with wood and water, receiving help in the labor from the natives to whom they had given presents and food during the eight days spent there. Afterwards they continued to explore the coast.

On the 13th of July they were at latitude 47° 23′ when they found a fine beautiful roadstead in which they anchored. On the next day the launch with the commander and one of the Fathers went ashore and set up a Cross upon the shore, but were hindered from holding further ceremonies of solemnizing their possession of the land by the strong swell and surf. Going on from that place they continued the voyage northward, both vessels keeping together till the 30th of the month of July, when the schooner disappeared and was not seen again until October, when they returned to the port of Monterey, which was the point agreed upon for the reunion.

When the commander saw that he had lost track of the schooner, he began to fear it had been lost or that it had turned back. But none the less the frigate continued north as far as latitude 49° 30′, which point was reached on the 11th of August. Taking into account that the greater part of the crew was suffering from scurvy, a council of officers was held and it was decided to return, keeping close to the coast in search of the schooner, and exploring the stretches which they had seen on their way up. This they did and arrived on the 29th of August with the greater part of the crew sick. But after they had taken the proper remedies, all got well.

The schooner, which had lost sight of the flagship on the 30th, kept going up the coast, supposing that the frigate was ahead, and as they did not find her they went as far as latitude 58°, where they found a fine port, wide and well protected, which they called that of Our Lady of the Remedies. They took possession of it by setting up there a Holy Cross, almost in sight of a village of the pagans who were living near the shore. Here they took on wood and water and then sailed away from this port of our Lady of the Remedies.

Although they made repeated attempts to force their way farther north, they were not able to, on account of the head winds and the strong currents which drove them back to latitude 55°, a little above the northern point of Santa Margarita island, the highest point reached by the previous expedition. Here they drew in shore and found a strait, about two leagues wide between one point and another, with an island in the middle, which they called San Carlos. As they saw that the sea extended far into the land, even beyond the horizon, they thought that if in reality there should be a passage through to the North Sea [Atlantic] to the Pacific, which the English navigators had so earnestly looked for, it was very probable that this was the outlet. In view of this, and remembering that the Viceroy had dispatched the expedition, they gave it the name of the Pass of Bucareli, which is found at latitude 55° exactly. They went ashore on one of these points and took possession of it by setting up a large Cross. They then left the Pass of Bucareli and kept on down the coast, making a map of it in order to form the charts.

On the 3d of October, the eve of Our Holy Father St. Francis, they found themselves near to the Point of the Kings (Punta de los Reyes), and four leagues farther to the north they discovered a port, where they anchored, and it seemed to them that at the entrance there was a sandbar. As soon as they had anchored, there gathered on the shore more than two hundred natives of all ages and sexes, and all very glad to see them. At night they built bonfires. On the next day, the holy day of Our Holy Father St. Francis, the schooner was at the point of being lost, as there was a very heavy sea running, which dragged them very near shore and also carried away their launch and smashed it to pieces. Fearing that the schooner would meet with a like fate, they drew up anchor and left the port, to which they had given the name of Bodega, and, making out to sea, sailed for Monterey, where they anchored on the 7th of October, and found there at anchor the frigate which they had not seen since the night of the 29th of July, and the packet-boat "San Carlos," which had returned from the exploring of the port of Our Holy Father St. Francis.

A week after the arrival of the schooner they all went to the Mission of San Carlos, from the Captain down to the last cabin boy, in fulfillment of their promise, to confess and to communicate in the High Mass, sung in honor of our Lady of Bethlehem, which is venerated in that Mission. The Captain asked that this Mass be offered up as a sign of gratitude for the happy conclusion of the expedition, of which the naval officers had sent on an account to His Excellency, the Viceroy. The Venerable President also sent him congratulations and received in reply the following letter which I insert here, copying it from the original which I have at hand.

LETTER FROM HIS EXCELLENCY, THE VICEROY

The new discoveries made by the royal vessels along those coasts are the subject of the letter which your Reverence wrote me on the 12th of October of the preceding year of 1775, and on account of them and the honor that has come to me, you have sent me your good wishes which I receive with great pleasure. I think that your Reverence should also be congratulated and thanked for the part you took in ordering that the good news should be celebrated with all the solemnity possible in that place. I have the satisfaction to know that your zeal and that of your companions, the other Fathers, is the best kind of a support for the extension of the Gospel, and such are the pious intentions of His Majesty. May God keep your Reverence many years. Mexico, 20th of January, 1776. Knight Commander Don Antonio Bucareli y Ursua. To the Rev. Father Fr. Junípero Serra.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The Third Expedition of Exploration Along the Coast.

THE fervent heart of His Excellency did not remain at rest or satisfied with the expeditions already made and he planned another with greater care and larger preparations. Although this did not take place till the year 1779, I have thought it better to insert it here in relation with the two preceding ones in order to leave my narrative free to follow the historic account of the founding of these Establishments and the Apostolic labors of my Venerable Father Lector and President, Fr. Junípero Serra.

As soon as His Excellency Don Bucareli received the news, together with the diaries of the second expedition, he set about arranging for a third exploration, by first giving an account of what had been discovered to the royal court and then indicating his purpose in the matter. While waiting for a reply he ordered the construction of a frigate especially adapted for this expedition, and he also sent to the country of Perú a naval lieutenant and a pilot, graduated as Ensign, in order that they might purchase in the port of Callao a frigate at royal expense and bring it to the harbor of San Blas. All this he accomplished and when he had the approval of the King and the royal edict, the third expedition was sent out with orders to discover the passage through to the North Sea.

His Excellency ordered the preparation of the two frigates, the new one being called "The Princess," which was to serve as flagship, the other from Perú was named "La Favorita." Everything was put on board with provisions to last for at least one year. He also ordered a troop of marines, for such service as might be necessary. He named as Commander the Lieutenant of navy, Don Ignacio Arteaga, and as subalterns other two Lieutenants and two Ensigns of marine, with the corresponding Pilots. His Excellency asked of our College that two Missionaries go on the expedition, and Fathers Fr. Juan Antonio Riobo and Fr. Mathías Noriega were named. The frigates sailed from the port of San Blas on the 12th of February of the year 1779, taking another man as guide, seeing that Don Juan Pérez had died a natural death at sea on the return voyage of the second expedition, between Monterey and San Blas.

They left with the strict understanding that the two ships were to stay together except in case of some urgent necessity, and in that case a place of meeting should be assigned, as for example, the Point of Bucareli at 55° was chosen. They reached that point prosperously on the 3d of May and entered behind the Point where they found a large archipelago, or Mediterranean sea, peopled with many islands. Here they remained until the first of July, spending almost two months in the exploration, and found thirteen ports of the very best, each one of them capable of holding an entire squadron. They were not able to find out if any one of the inlets communicated with the North Sea, because they did not find any limit to their extension in that direction, and because, in order really to make a satisfactory exploration, a separate expedition would be necessary which would have no other purpose. So they returned to their work of trying to see how far they could explore northward along the coast.

Nothwithstanding, during the time they were in this archipelago, they made a map and formed charts of as much of the coast as they explored and sounded. They held intercourse with all the people who inhabit the islands and the shores. They found a robust people, well formed and of good color. They had their wooden launches, which were quite large and with which they traversed those inland seas and did their fishing. The men of the vessels succeeded in purchasing three lads and two girls, and they were all later baptized, as we shall see. After finishing their exploration of this Port of ports, which they called Bucareli, they sailed toward the north on the first of July.

On the first of August they found themselves in latitude 60°. They had needed a whole month to advance only five degrees and this was not on account of bad weather, but because the coast leads away to the northwest. They found at that latitude a large port with all the conveniences which one might wish, as to shelter from wind, wood and water and a great abundance of fish which were very healthy and very savory, easy to catch. Of them a goodly supply was taken and salted down for use on the voyage. They went ashore and took possession of the port, giving it the name of Santiago. A large Cross was set up and a procession was held in which the hymn *Vexilla Regis* was sung.

As the Commander noticed that this port had an arm of the sea which extended far away to the north, he ordered that an armed launch, with one official and pilot and with soldiery should set out to explore it. They did so and traveled several days. One day they saw coming two large launches filled with Indians, each one of them carrying more men than did our launch. They showed signs of peace and made our men presents of fish and other things they carried, and our men returned the favor with beads, mirrors and other trinkets which they greatly prize. So they bade them good-by and went on.

The officer and pilot who were in command of the launch, when they saw that they had gone a long way in and to the north, very much further than was the port where the frigate was anchored, and still there was no apparent termination to the sea, but still ahead was a clear horizon, they were afraid to go farther, but decided it was better to return and to give an account of what they had seen to the Commander. This they did.

While the launch was busy with this exploration, those of the frigate tried to communicate with the many gentile people, who, with their launches and canoes of various shapes, came about them and climbed on board. All these they tried to please by giving them food and beads and receiving in return fish and some of the trinkets which they made. Among the many men who came on board they noticed one who was quite different from the rest in that the frigate did not seem to be a source of wonderment to him, but he acted as if he was used to large ships of this sort. They asked him if he had ever seen large ships before and he replied by means of signs that he had, and then pointing to a mountain which stood out from the shore he gave the men to understand that beyond that hill there were many large ships. From that all were led to suspect that in that direction the Russians must have some harbor or agency, as they are said to trade in those latitudes. They were confirmed in this because they could see the volcano called Saint Elias, and several of them thought that that gentile who had shown no surprise at the sight of the frigates, might have been some Russian, in the guise of an Indian who had been sent thither to explore and observe.

When the launch arrived from its exploration, all expected that the Commander would order the two frigates to explore that arm of the sea, but instead he gave orders to follow up the exploration along the coast, keeping in sight of land. This they did and soon observed that the coast line ran to the south (of west).

When the ship was at latitude 59°, that is, to the south of the port of

Santiago, there came up a storm of sea and rain and mist which prevented them from seeing or knowing whither they were being driven. The vessels were made to lay to and so they passed twenty-four hours. When the clouds lifted enough for them to see their danger, they discovered that they were surrounded on all sides by islands, thrust into the midst of an archipelago. Recognizing the very imminent peril in which they were, the Commander (who was especially devoted to Our Lady of the Rule) ordered that her image be suspended over the quarter deck and that a "Salve" be sung. This was done with great faith and trust in the patronage of Our Lady, and immediately the clouds lifted enough to enable them to see a large bay in one of the islands, and here the Commander ordered the vessel to draw in and cast anchor. This was done all right and all were saved from the danger in which they were. They explored the bay which they named after our Lady of the Rule, and they found several good places for anchorage. They went on shore and took possession of the island with the same ceremonies that we have described as taking place at the port of Santiago. In this place no dealings were held with the natives, as none were seen, though in the distance the smoke of their fires was observed.

When the Commander saw that many of the men were sick, that the season was advanced, and that the equinox was at hand, he did not wish to carry farther the exploration, but considered that the expedition had accomplished its task, so he gave orders to the pilots to sail in the direction of some of the ports of the Missions in order to cure the sick and to find shelter from the equinoctial storms. This they did and entered the port of San Francisco on the 14th and 15th of September, where they remained until the end of October. They celebrated in this Mission the Feast of Thanksgiving with High Mass and sermon in honor of Our Lady of the Remedies, whose image in brass, large and well-sculptured, following the model of the original which is in Mexico City, adorned with its fine frame of beaten silver and with its glass placed in a cedar niche, was presented to this church by Don Juan Bodega y Cuadra, Captain of the Peruvian frigate named "Our Lady of the Remedies," as well as "La Favorita." The image was placed in the principal altar, her feast being celebrated on the 3d of October with High Mass and sermon, and on the next day with the same solemnity and with all the people in attendance, the feast of our Holy Father St. Francis was celebrated (as he is the Patron Saint of the Mission and of the Port), likewise with High Mass, sermon and procession.

During the month and a half that the ships were in port, the men were all cured of their maladies and the pilots finished their drawings of the maps of all the coasts and ports. I had the pleasure of baptizing three of the gentile boys who I have said were brought from the port of Bucareli. The other two, who were a little larger and needed instruction, were held in reserve till they should reach San Blas, as they had not yet learned our language. When about to leave our port for San Blas a land courier arrived from Old California with the sad news of the death of His Excellency Viceroy Frey Antonio Bucareli. This meant great sadness to us all for we had lost a great benefactor who had been a good patron of the Missions. I do not doubt that in Heaven he has received his reward for the many souls which have been won through the assistance which he gave to this Spiritual Conquest. His death seriously affected also the men of the navy as they presumed the expeditions would cease, and also because with the same mail came the news of wars with the English. Their suspicions were verified later and the work of exploration was suspended.

Although our Venerable Father Junípero did not have a personal part in these maritime expeditions, I could not help inserting the narrative of them here because they had their origin in that painful voyage he made to Mexico City, as it was due to his Apostolic zeal that His Excellency the Viceroy was stirred to extend the exploration to those remote regions. His Excellency was fully assured that the principal object of the expeditions would be carried out, as he had the utmost faith in the indefatigable zeal of the Venerable Father Junípero, as we see in the letter inserted in the preceding chapter, and another letter which he wrote at the same time of which I copy a part here and also add the postscript.

COPY OF HIS EXCELLENCY'S LETTER

The report of the Missions which your Reverence has sent with your letter of the 5th of February of last year has given me the greatest pleasure because I see the progress which has been made, due to your Apostolic zeal and to that of the other Fathers. I have sent an account of it to the King. And now I am sure that the time will come, if the work goes on, when His Majesty may see realized there establishments which will fully carry out His royal and pious desires for the propagation of the Faith in those remote regions. May God keep your Reverence many years. Mexico, 20th of January, 1776.

COPY OF THE POSTSCRIPT

The port of the Holy Trinity, discovered by Don Bruno Ezeta, invites us to the founding of a Mission and in order not to lose sight of this object, which can help so materially in the extension of the Gospel, we ought to consolidate these Stations, and this is what I expect the fervent zeal of your Reverence will finally accomplish. In order to establish ourselves in the most remote of the points discovered, it is necessary that these places of evangelistic effort should be able to provide for their own material support, and so I hope that the zeal of the Fathers will be directed to the development of the fields and of the herds of cattle. The expense of maintaining garrisons, although it is very considerable, does not concern me so much as the difficulty of their transportation from San Blas, and the many uncertainties which arise on account of the sea voyages.— Knight Commander Don Antonio Bucareli y Ursua.— To the Rev. F. Fr. Junípero Serra.

If this zealous ruler had lived to hear the report of the last expedition he might have seen, as did our Venerable Father Junípero, what a very considerable increase from the cattle had been obtained. Each of the Missions had been given only eighteen head at the beginning. In the last report sent in for the preceding year of 1784, the whole nine Missions reported 5,384 head of cattle, 5,629 head of sheep and 4,294 head of goats, although these last two kinds were not sent out at the time of the founding of the Missions, but this fine increase was obtained from a few animals which the Missions had solicited privately. The Venerable Father Founder also had the privilege of seeing harvested, just before his death, a goodly supply of wheat, beans, barley, corn and other vegetables, making a total for the nine Missions of fifteen thousand, eight hundred *fanegas* [about 24,000 bushels]. This amount is sufficient not only to sustain the Missions but plenty is left to provide the troops. If this abundance could have been known to His Excellency as it was known to the Venerable Father Junípero, who can doubt but that the Catholic Faith would have been by now extended to the very last of the new points discovered, or at least, the clarion sound of the Gospel would now be echoing through the archipelago of the famous Port of Bucareli?

But as all this was suspended with the lamented death of the fervent Don Bucareli, we have to comfort ourselves with the fact that the harvest fields have been discovered, as well as with the fact that the first fruits of that people are already gathered in Heaven. The three small children whom I baptized in this Mission have died, and a little later, of the two older ones who were taken to San Blas to be baptized, the girl died soon after being baptized. I do not doubt but that these four blessed souls will intercede with God for the conversion of their compatriots who groan under the tyrannous yoke of the Enemy, begging the Lord that he send laborers to preach and to instruct in the law of the Gospel in order that others may obtain, as they have, the delights of Heaven for all eternity.

I have thought best to insert all this information far in advance of my story, for the benefit of the curious reader that he may have before him the facts concerning these Missions, as well as those relating to the maritime expeditions made for the sake of extending the Holy Catholic Faith and the dominions of our Catholic Monarch. He can now read with even greater interest the account of the new Missions to be established and of the Apostolic labors of the Venerable Father Junípero and his companions, as we shall relate them in the following chapters.

CHAPTER XXXIX

Account of the Continued Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father President on His Return to the Mission of San Carlos.

A FEW days after the arrival of the Venerable Father President at his Mission of San Carlos (Monterey), which was in the middle of May of the year 1774, the new Commander, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, Captain of the Leather Jackets, arrived to take the place of Don Pedro Fages, graduated Captain and Lieutenant of the Volunteer Troop of Cataluña, in accordance with the decree of the Council of War and State, on account of the fact that the Leather Jacket soldiers are much better adapted for the subjection of the gentiles than foot-soldiers. The recruits were brought overland from Sinaloa by the said Captain Rivera. As soon as the fervent Father President saw himself freed from other cares, as the frigate had sailed away with the first expedition and "El Principe," which had arrived the next day after the sailing of the other, had unloaded its cargo and had sailed for San Diego to leave there the cargo destined for that port; being free, I say, of the many trials he had formerly had on account of a lack of provisions and clothing, he began to cast his net for the gathering in of the pagans by inviting them to the Mission. There were so many of them ready to attend the teaching that every day he had a great circle of catechumens about him whom, with the aid of the interpreter, he instructed in Christian Doctrine and the necessary mysteries. It was in these holy exercises that he spent the greater part of the day and little by little as they were sufficiently instructed, they were baptized, and so very shortly the number of Christians was greatly increased as others kept coming and asking for instruction.

But this did not satisfy the ardent zeal of our Venerable Father Junípero, even when he knew that the other Missionaries were doing the same thing in the other four Missions; but his heart longed for the establishing of the others, as there was now an abundance of friars seeing that they had come up from Old California and had not been assigned work. It is true that the new Ordinances read that the founding of new Missions was to be suspended until an increase could be effected in the number of the troops, but it was possible to interpret the matter favorably to the enterprise in that the clause read as follows: "*Provided*, that it may be deemed possible to found one or two Missions by reducing the guards in those Missions which are nearest to the garrisons, and by taking a few more soldiers from the garrisons when their absence would not mean a *serious lack.*"

Availing himself of this open door of escape in the Ordinances, he planned to found one Mission, at least half way between San Diego and San Gabriel, under the advocacy of San Juan Capistrano. The Venerable Father discussed this matter with the new Commander, Don Fernando Rivera, who, in agreement with him, assigned for a guard four soldiers from each garrison and two from each of the Missions of San Diego and San Carlos. The Venerable Father Junípero named as the Missionaries for the work two of those who had been sent up from Old California. All this he reported to His Excellency, who, besides approving the same, showed his great pleasure in the plan, as is indicated by the following letter:

> In view of the arrangements made with the Commander Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada concerning the founding of the new Missions to which you refer in your letter of the 17th of August of last year, your Reverence also gives me the agreeable news of your determination to found, in addition to the Mission of the port of San Francisco, another with the name of San Juan Capistrano, between San Diego and San Gabriel, for which have been named the Fathers Fermin Francisco Lasuen and Fr. Gregorio Amurrio, to whom has been granted the necessary guard and provided the other things which the memorial calls for, of which your Reverence has made a copy.
>
> All this information greatly increases my pleasure and reveals very clearly the unwearying efforts with which your Reverence has undertaken to bring about the success of these Missions. God is visibly favoring you in these services as well as the King in his purpose in making the heavy expenses necessary, in that as the Missions have increased as well as the number of the converts in each, the land has produced copious harvests for their support, and these will be greater in successive years, as your Reverence indicates in the letter. All this is very pleasing to me, and may God keep you, etc.

As soon as it had been decided to found the new Mission, the two Missionaries set out from Monterey, with the equipment and the guard which had been assigned. On arrival at San Gabriel, the Father Gregorio Amurrio remained there to make everything ready so as to start as soon as word was received, and Father Fr. Fermin Lasuen went on to

San Diego in order to set out with the Lieutenant Commander of that garrison to make the exploration. As soon as they had chosen the site most appropriate for the Mission they returned to the garrison to get everything ready for its founding. When the above mentioned Father, with the lieutenant, sergeant and necessary soldiers, had arrived at the place, an arbor was built, a large Cross was made, blessed and set up, and on the altar which was formed Father Lasuen said the first Mass. On the 30th of October, the octave of San Juan Capistrano, Patron Saint of the new Mission, many pagan people came in, manifesting their joy at having the new neighbors among them, and offering themselves with great willingness to help in the cutting of the wood and bringing it in for the construction of the chapel and houses.

The work had progressed for eight days and the logs were being set up for the house when the Father Fr. Gregorio Amurrio arrived with all the equipment, coming in answer to the word sent him from San Gabriel. This was the situation, and all were very happy in the thought that the Mission would soon be in operation and with great promise of success owing to the spirit of contentment which was noticeable among the natives of that region, when the sad and dreadful news came that the Indians had set fire to the Mission in San Diego and had taken the life of one of the Missionaries. As soon as the Lieutenant received this word, he mounted his horse, as did also the sergeant and a part of the soldiers and started with all speed for San Diego. Before leaving they begged the Fathers to follow them with the remaining soldiers, so the work of building was suspended, the bells were buried, and all the rest of the equipment was loaded on the pack-animals and carried to the garrison at San Diego where they heard the news which will be related in the following chapter, and which is the account of the disaster as it was written by the Fathers after taking the declarations of both the converted and unconverted Indians in an official examination made by the Commander of the fort.

CHAPTER XL

The Death of the Rev. Father Fr. Luis Jayme, and Other Events in the Mission of San Diego.

IT was in the month of November of the year 1775 and the work was being carried forward with great rejoicing of heart in the Mission by the R. Father Lector, Fr. Luis Jayme, Son of the Holy Province of Mallorca and the Father Preacher, Fr. Vicente Fuster, of the Province of Aragón, and with an abundance of spiritual fruit in souls which that Vineyard of the Lord, so carefully presented in intercessory prayer to God by the Prelate and commended to the Reverend Fathers, was producing daily. To such a degree did the work prosper that sixty pagans had been baptized on the third of the preceding October (on the eve of Our Father St. Francis), and these, added to the other numerous group of those who had been previously baptized, made quite a large following of the people. All these had moved the preceding year to the ravine of the river or valley which empties into the port, because the land there (about two leagues distant from the garrison) offered much greater advantages for the producing of crops and the harvesting of corn and wheat for the maintenance of the converts, and all were very happy in the new prospects.

As the joy and the contentment of the friars and people continued to increase, the greater grew the fury of that great Enemy of souls who was ill content with the prospect that, in spite of his infernal fury, the people in the vicinity of the port were putting an end to their pagan customs and surrendering themselves to our true religion through the instrumentality of the fervent zeal of those Missionaries, and, noting how they were planning to build another Mission half way between this point and San Gabriel, where they would achieve a like result with those gentiles over whom he had so long exercised his dominion, and which seemed likely to come to an end, he decided to stop the damage being done, not only by preventing the work being carried further in the founding of the new Mission, but by annihilating the Mission of San Diego, the first to be established, and so taking vengeance on the Missionaries.

In order to carry out his diabolical intent, he made use of two of the converted men who had been previously baptized, but who, after the feast of Our Father St. Francis, had gone out among the villages of the sierra and there began to spread abroad among the gentiles of all those territories the devilish word that the Fathers were purposing to put an end to all the pagans by forcing them to become Christians, stating as proof of the same the fact that sixty had been baptized in one day. Those who heard this were much disturbed, some of them believing the report and others doubting it. Some said that the Fathers forced no one, but that if so many had been baptized, it was because they wanted to be. But the greater part of the people believed the news which the apostates were propagating, and as the Enemy of souls had predisposed their hearts by a certain passion of hatred against the Fathers, there resulted the desire to take their lives, and to kill the soldiers as well, and set fire to the Mission, and so put an end to everything. Scarce another matter was spoken of in all that region, and one and another were invited to participate in the act. But there were many villages which refused to agree to it, saying that the Fathers had done them no harm nor had they tried to make them Christians by force.

Nothing of this was known in San Diego, nor was the slightest fear felt. The absence of the two apostate neophytes was noticed, as they had left without permission. The sergeant who went out to look for them could not find them, but heard that they had penetrated into the mountains in the direction of the Colorado River, and in none of the many villages which they went through did they see the least indication of a disturbance or warlike attitude, but this only goes to prove the secrecy with which the whole was planned.

More than a thousand Indians were called together (not acquainted among themselves and perhaps had never seen one another, but had been invited by others) and it was agreed that they divide themselves into two bands, the one to fall on the Mission and the other on the garrison, it being agreed that as soon as these latter saw the smoke of the burning Mission, that they were to set fire to the fort and to kill all the people in it, while those who attacked the Mission were to do the same. This being the agreement, and all being well armed with arrows and war-clubs, they descended upon the places to carry out their nefarious designs.

They reached the valley of the San Diego River on the night of the

4th of November and there they divided into two bands, the half of them going on to the garrison. They arrived at the Mission without being seen, coming first to the houses of the native Christians. Here a number of the pagans stationed themselves in the doorway of each house, ordering the dwellers therein to remain inside and to keep silence, on pain of death. The greater part of the band then attacked the Mission and the vestry, stealing the clothing, the ornaments and everything else they wanted. Others with firebrands which they found in the soldiers' quarters (where there were only three men and a corporal, who, it seems, were fast asleep) began to set fire to the barracks and to all the other houses. All this was accompanied with the most dreadful yells on the part of the pagans, which of course awakened everyone.

The soldiers began to arm themselves after the arrows began to fly. The Fathers were sleeping in other rooms. The Reverend Father Fr. Vicente came out, and when he saw the fire, he ran to where the soldiers were, as did also two little boys, the son and the nephew of the Lieutenant Commander of the garrison. In another room the carpenter and the blacksmith of the Mission were living and the blacksmith of the garrison who had come to the Mission on account of sickness. His name was Urselino and his name is worthy of being preserved on account of his heroic acts as a true Catholic, as we shall see.

The Rev. Father Luis, who slept in another room, on hearing the alarm and the fire, came out, and noting the great crowd of Indians, drew near to them, saluting them with the accustomed salutation: "Love God, my children." As soon as they recognized him they fell upon him like a wolf on a lamb, and he bore himself as such in that he opened not his mouth. They carried him to the thickets in the gully, where they stripped him of his habit. Then they began to hack his naked body with their wooden sabres and to shoot at him innumerable arrows, their fury not being satisfied with simply taking his life with such great cruelty but after he was dead they bruised his head, his face and the rest of his body to such a degree that from his feet to his head there was not a single part untouched except his consecrated hands, and it was in this condition that he was found.

God willed it that his hands should be preserved in order to show to all that he had not done evil, that his life should be taken away in such cruel fashion, but that he had labored in all purity to direct them to God and to save their souls. And we do not doubt — those of us who knew him and dealt with him in life — that he very gladly and joyfully gave up his life and shed his innocent blood that he might water with it that mystic Vineyard which, with so great pains, he had cultivated, and where he had increased the number of the Saved by those he had baptized, trusting that by the means of that watering more abundance of ripened fruit might be gathered, as indeed it came to pass, in that multitudes afterwards came to ask for baptism. Even whole villages with their large population and at a great distance from the Mission gathered there asking to be baptized, so greatly increasing the number of the native Christians.

At the same time that the Indians were carrying away Father Luis with great outcry, to the place of his Martyrdom, others were on their way to the room occupied by the carpenters and blacksmith, who had been awakened by the noise. The blacksmith was on the point of coming out with a sword in his hand when an arrow struck him, which left him dead. When the carpenter saw this, he took up a loaded gun and shot it off, knocking down one of the Indians who was near the door. As the rest drew away frightened and astonished, he was able to make his way to where the soldiers were. The other carpenter, who was sick, was filled with arrows where he lay in his bed. When he felt he was wounded unto death he said: *"Oh, Indian, you have killed me. May God forgive you."*

The greater part of the band was engaged in the attack on the soldiers, who were gathered in a little house which had served them as a barracks, and in which the Father Fr. Vicente Fuster had taken refuge with the two boys just mentioned. Here came also the carpenter and there were there also the three soldiers with the corporal. To the pagan band gathered about was added the great mass of the other band which had started for the garrison, but which they had not dared attack, as, long before they arrived, they had seen the smoke and fire of the Mission, and supposing that it had been seen by those of the garrison and that they would be on the defensive and that they would send help to the Mission, they returned and joined those taking part in the attack. In this way the garrison was delivered, as all the people there were also asleep, for they did not see the fire which lighted up the sky nor did they hear the noise of the many shots which were fired, though it is easy to hear the morning salute of the garrison from the Mission.

As soon as those pagans who had gone to the attack of the garrison came up to the Mission and heard that one of the Fathers had been killed, they asked which one it was. As soon as they heard that it was the one who said the prayers (for so they designated Fr. Luis) they were greatly pleased with the news and celebrated on the spot one of their war-dances, as is their barbarous custom. Then they joined the rest in the attempt to have done with the other Father and with the whole Mission. The little group of soldiers did their best to defend themselves against the tremendous number of the pagan horde, being animated by the great valor of the corporal, who did not cease to shout aloud, which added to the terror of the Indians, and to shoot off his weapon, killing some and wounding others. When the enemy saw how great was the resistance encountered, they had recourse to fire, setting fire to the barracks, which were of poles. In order not to die roasted in the fire, the soldiers left the building, with great valor moving into a little hut of adobes which had served as a kitchen. The whole little hut, however, was not more than three walls of adobe, scarce a yard high, with no roof but a few branches which the cook had put there to keep off the sun. Our people, sheltered in this little kitchen, continued to fire on the enemy, defending themselves against the multitude who naturally made the attack on the side where those inside were exposed for the lack of a wall. There they sent in their arrows and spears.

Seeing the danger which this opening was causing them, they were bold enough to go back into the burning house and bring out some boxes and bundles in order to make a sort of parapet. In this task two of the soldiers were wounded and put out of action, and there remained for the defense only the corporal with one soldier and the carpenter. The corporal, who was of great valor and a good shot, told the soldier and the carpenter to do nothing else but to load and prime the guns while he did all the shooting. In this way he succeeded in killing as many as came near.

When the pagans saw that their arrows were of no avail on account of the defense of the adobes which our men had, they set fire to the branches which served as a roof, but as these were but a few their burning did not oblige the men to retire from the place, but they were in great danger of their powder being set on fire. This surely would have happened if the Reverend Father Vicente had not seen it in time, and covered up the bag with the skirt of his habit, without paying any attention to the danger therein involved. When they saw that firing the roof was not going to drive them out, the Indians tried to throw in burning brands and also pieces of adobe, one of which wounded the Father, but for the time he was not aware of it. He afterwards fully recovered. So the fighting continued until daybreak, when the beautiful light of day put to flight the pagan horde, as they feared the people from the fort would come. So they made off, carrying their dead and wounded, in order that it might not be known how many they were. But it was afterwards learned that the number was considerable.

As soon as the day broke on the 5th of November, when the multitude of the Indians had disappeared, the native Christians came out of their houses and went at once to look for the Father, whom they found in the kitchen fort with the corporal and the three soldiers, all of the latter wounded, and the corporal as well, although he did not want to admit it for fear the others would have lost heart. The native Christians with tears told the Father how the pagans had held them prisoners in their houses, nor would they even let them raise a cry, threatening them with death if they moved. He asked them about Father Luis, concerning whom he had been deeply alarmed all night long as he knew nothing of him, though the soldiers had comforted him by saying that he probably had hidden among the willows. He therefore sent the Indians to look for him and he also sent Lomer, a Californian Indian, to the garrison to carry the news. The rest he set to work putting out the fire in the granary so as to save the provisions.

The Indians found their revered Father, Fr. Luis, in the gully, dead and so disfigured that they could scarcely recognize him. They lifted him up and brought the body in, with great lamentation, to where Father Vicente was, who as soon as he heard the crying of the Indians felt in his heart what must have happened to his companion. The Father immediately started to meet them and they laid down their burden at his feet. It was indeed as he feared. His companion was dead and so disfigured that, as he wrote to the Father President, his body was so full of wounds that there was no part whole except his consecrated hands. All the rest was bruised and filled with arrows and the head crushed in with the blows of the *macanas*, or war sabres of wood, or possibly with stones, and, of course, all bloody from head to foot. They recognized it as his body only by the whiteness of the skin which was only in a few places free from blood-stains, and these were the only garments which covered his body. On sight of this spectacle, Father Vicente was almost beside himself with grief, till the weeping of the native converts, who greatly loved the dead Father, caused him too to burst into weeping.

As soon as his grief permitted the Father to deliberate a little he ordered them to make a litter in order to carry the dead body of Father Luis as well as that of the blacksmith, Joseph Romero. Litters were also made to carry the wounded men, who were the corporal and the three soldiers and the carpenter, Urselino. As soon as word was received at the garrison, the soldiers started for the Mission, and with their help all were transferred, the dead being carried in procession to the fort, leaving in the Mission some of the native Christians, who were putting out the fire in the granary. On arrival at the garrison the dead were buried in the Chapel and the wounded were cared for. All recovered, except the carpenter Urselino, who died on the fifth day. He was thereby given time to prepare himself for death and to dispose of his affairs. He had saved up his salary which he had received for some years from the royal treasury, and as he had no legitimate heir, he made a will and named as his heirs the very same Indians who had taken his life, an action which was heroic and also worthy of a true disciple of Jesus Christ. Having received all the Holy Sacraments he gave up his soul to his Creator.

The corporal who was in command of the garrison sent word to the Lieutenant, who was at the time at the founding of the Mission of San Juan Capistrano, and the latter, as soon as he had the word, started for San Diego. After him shortly came the Fathers. As soon as these latter arrived at the fort, they performed the funeral honors for the dead Father, and decided to remain at the fort until they could have further orders from the Father President, to whom they immediately wrote telling all the story as here narrated and which I have taken from these very letters. At the same time, under the suggestion of the Commander of the garrison, the native Christians moved back into the vicinity of the garrison so as to avoid any further outbreak which might occur on the part of the pagan Indians. They also transferred the rest of the corn and wheat which they managed to save from the fire. All the rest of the things of the Mission were either destroyed or carried off by the Indians.

The Commander of the garrison, by sending out parties of soldiers to the villages, took the necessary steps to discover if there were any signs of another uprising, as well as to find out who they were who had had a part in this one. Quite a number were brought in as prisoners in order to make investigations, and when it was found that there was no likelihood of an attack on the garrison, he sent a courier to Monterey.

CHAPTER XLI

The Arrival of the Sad News from San Diego and the Steps Taken by Those in Command at Monterey.

THE courier from San Diego duly arrived at Monterey with the news of the martyrdom of the Venerable Father Fr. Luis Jayme and of the burning of the Mission. Immediately on receipt of the letters, Commander Rivera, as soon as he had informed himself as to what had happened, started out that same night, the 13th of December, for the Mission of San Carlos (where I was at the time) to give the news and the letters from the Fathers in San Diego to the Rev. Father President, who, as soon as he heard it, burst forth with these words: *Thanks be to God that that soil has now been watered with blood. We shall now soon see the complete subjugation of the Indians of San Diego. To-morrow* (his Reverence went on to say) *we shall honor the dead Father. To this I invite you and the people of the garrison.* To this the Commander replied that he could not be present because he must get ready to leave for San Diego. When the Father said that he also intended to go down to San Diego, the Commander replied that it was not possible that they should go together on account of the great need of haste in view of the importance of his arrival in San Diego at the earliest possible moment in order to make sure the defence of the garrison, to investigate into the attack, and to give an account of everything to His Excellency. He also said that another company of soldiers would be leaving shortly for San Diego and that His Reverence could go down with them more slowly and easily. With this he bade us good by and returned to the garrison.

The following day the Venerable Father President made the arrangements for the services in honor of the dead Father, which consisted of vigils and Requiem High Mass sung with the assistance of six Friars, viz., the Venerable Father President, with his companion and the four of us who were there waiting to go to the founding of this port of Our Father, St. Francis. Besides, all the native Christians of the Mission and the troop of the guard were present. It was the judgment of all of us who knew the Venerable Father Luis, who had dealt with him and had had experience of his religious conduct and his fervent zeal for the salvation of souls, that it was not necessary that we should pray God for him, but rather that we should ask him to intercede with God for us, as we all piously believed that his soul had gone straight to heaven to receive there the crown of glory which he had earned by his virtues, by his laborious life, and by his intense desire for the conversion of all that pagan people. However, because the judgments of God are inscrutable, the Venerable Father President instructed us that each one of the Missionaries should apply the twenty Masses which the Concordat requires for the Missionaries of this Spiritual Conquest.

When the Venerable Prelate saw that he could not go down at once to San Diego he wrote to the Fathers telling them what they ought to do in the meantime. He also wrote to the Rev. Father Guardian telling him the story of what had happened, sending along the same letters which he had received from the Fathers of San Juan Capistrano and from the remaining Father of San Diego. He also wrote to His Excellency, the Viceroy, telling him the news and adding that the Missionaries had not lost heart from what had happened but rather they were the more encouraged, even coveting the glorious death which had overtaken their blessed Venerable Brother and Companion, Father Fr. Luis Jayme.

He also said that what he most regretted were the results of the disaster both in the punishment which perhaps might be inflicted upon the poor ignorant Indians who had taken part in the deed, and in the possible delay which might follow before the Mission of San Diego could be reopened upon the same site. It was also equally to be regretted that the founding of the Mission of San Juan Capistrano should have to be postponed; but that he hoped from his well known clemency that His Excellency would show mercy to the San Diego Indians who had had a part in the death of the late Father, that no doubt they had been influenced by the infernal Enemy and through lack of knowledge; and that he judged it would be more conducive to good results to show compassion upon these men, as they would thus be attracted to our Catholic religion so pious and benign. He said that he also trusted in the fervent and Catholic zeal of His Excellency that he would have a part with even greater fervor in the rebuilding of the burned Mission and of the founding of the other Mission of San Juan Capistrano in order that the infernal designs of the Enemy might be frustrated. This could be well accomplished and future disasters of the same sort avoided by simply increasing the guards of the Mission; for when the Indians saw a larger force ready for defence, they would restrain themselves, and the main object of their subjugation and the salvation of their souls could be accomplished in quietness. These letters his Reverence sent to the garrison, begging the Commander that he would forward them from San Diego, together with his own document, as he might be detained in going down to San Diego however much he desired to come.

Commander Rivera set out from Monterey with his troop on the 16th of December, visiting on the way the two Missions of San Antonio and San Luis [Obispo]; and although in them there was no disturbance among the Indians he added one more soldier to the garrison of each in view of what might happen, and continued his journey, reaching San Gabriel on the 3rd of January, 1776.

It was the will of God, the Lord of Hosts, that on the very next day there should arrive at that Mission the Lieut. Colonel Don Juan Bautista de Anza, who had come from Sonora under the orders of His Excellency crossing the Colorado River and bringing out soldiers and families for the colonizing of the port of Our Father St. Francis [San Francisco] (of which I shall speak later). With this arrival, Commander Rivera found himself supplied with an additional force of forty soldiers and with an official Lieutenant, besides the Commander of the expedition, Don Anza. The two Commanders discussed the situation in San Diego and decided that both of them (leaving in San Gabriel the Lieutenant with some of the soldiers and all the people of the colony, together with the muleteers and the pack-animals) should go on to San Diego to pacify the people and to capture the hostile chiefs. This they did and from that place forwarded to His Excellency their account of the affair, together with the letters of the Venerable Father President. Seeing that there was no further need of the troops the Commanders decided that the expedition should go on to Monterey and that, of the soldiers which had come from Sonora, only twelve should remain, to accompany Commander Rivera later, and that all the rest should return with Commander Anza to San Gabriel and from there go on to Monterey, as I shall describe in the proper place. In the meantime I go on to relate (going a little ahead of my narrative) the various efficient steps which His Excellency the Viceroy took when he received the news of what had happened.

As soon as His Excellency received the letters from the two Commanders which they wrote him from San Diego, telling what had happened in the Mission, and when he had fully informed himself from them as to their content, he missed the letter from the Rev. Father President, but attributed its absence to the distance of one hundred and seventy leagues which lie between San Carlos and San Diego, noticing that the courier had left from the latter place. He afterwards found out that this was not the cause but that the letters he had received had been sent on a few days in advance of the letter of the Venerable Father President, the latter having been dated two months before those of the Commanders. Notwithstanding, in spite of the absence of any word, His Excellency wrote a conciliatory letter with a note stating what steps he had ordered to be taken. The following is a copy of the same:

I cannot properly express to your Reverence the great regret and sorrow which I feel on receiving the news of the sad events in the Mission of San Diego and the tragic death of the Father Martyr Fr. Luis Jayme, concerning which the Commander of that garrison, Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada and the Lieutenant-Colonel Juan Bautista de Anza have written me. These disasters might have been greater but for the opportune arrival in San Gabriel of this latter officer with the families destined for Monterey.

The steps which those officers took at the time to assure the proper defence of San Diego, as well as for that of San Gabriel, and San Luis [Obispo], I consider prudent and in accord with what should be done in view of possible future outbreak, and so I have indicated to the Commander Moncada. The latter informs me of the apprehension of some of the perpetrators of the evil deed and he assures me that he will leave everything pacified by inflicting the proper punishment upon those who have been most aggressive in the outbreak, of whom he has taken one prisoner. I hope this will be done; but as this attempt leads me to recognize how very little confidence can be put upon the Indians who have been confirmed, and how very much less upon those who are still pagan, in view of the fact that both the former and the latter took part in this outbreak, I have given orders to Don Felipe Neve, governor of the Peninsula, that he recruit there, if possible, the twenty-five men which Don Fernando de Rivera asks for, in order to reinforce the troop under his charge, and that they be sent forward under arms.

The arrival of the packet-boats, "El Principe" and "San Carlos," which are under sail for that port since the 10th of the present month, will materially contribute to the quieting of the natives and will also help in the occupation of the port of San Francisco, and as from those boats perhaps some of the individuals may wish to remain as soldiers, I have ordered that they be put ashore to reinforce the garrison of San Diego. In order that this may not be prevented by the other Commanders I am sending a special credential to Don Fernando Rivera in view of which I am sure both officers will gladly acquiesce in this service.

Besides what I have said, the Commissioner of San Blas, Don Francisco Hijosa, has orders to gather other recruits in that immediate vicinity, and if he finds them he is to supply them with arms and other things necessary and forward them to the above mentioned Governor Neve in the same launch in which these documents are being sent, in order that he may on his part provide the help which I have advised him about.

I have not forgotten the necessity of other opportune measures, and I am ready to put into effect whatever dispositions may seem wise. In view of this I hope that your Reverence after commending this whole sad matter to God may not diminish your Apostolic zeal but rather will be assured that you will find the establishment of Missions to have really been forwarded by what has happened. To this end I do not doubt that your Reverence will contribute much by animating the other Fathers so that they will not fear the risks they take on account of the increased number of the troops which will accompany them.— May God keep your Reverence many years.— Mexico, 26th of March of the year 1776. Knight Commander Don Antonio Bucareli y Ursua.— To the Rev. Father Fr. Junípero Serra.

Eight days after having written the above letter His Excellency received the letter from the Reverend Father President which, as I said before, proved a great comfort to him and to which he immediately replied granting him all that he asked, as we shall see in what follows:

On the 26th of last March I wrote to your Reverence (before having received your letter of the 15th of December last and which was afterward delivered to me by the Reverend Father Custodian of this Apostolic College) expressing my great sorrow at the terrible disaster which had come upon the Mission of San Diego and telling you of the instructions which I immediately gave out in order to remedy as far as possible the damages which might result from not having reinforcements at hand for that garrison and Mission. But now, in view of your letter and the most prudent Christian observations which your Reverence expresses, you being inclined to think that it will give better results to try to attract the rebellious neophytes rather than punish them, I answer your Reverence that I agree with you and have so ordered, sending word on this same date to Commander Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, telling him to set the men at liberty, believing this to be the best means of pacifying and tranquilizing the minds of all and perhaps thereby securing the subjugation of the neighboring gentiles when they see that we are inclined to show them courtesy and kindness, and when, because of their outrage, they undoubtedly expected the severest punishment and the devastation of their villages.

I also advise that Commander that the principal work of the hour is to be the re-establishment of the Mission of San Diego and the new foundation of San Juan Capistrano, the former in the same place as before, and the latter in the place which had been selected just before the attack occurred, this to be done on the arrival of the twenty-five men who have been ordered recruited from Old California for the purpose of acting as a guard for those Missions and which will serve as a reinforcement for the garrison. In this way a competent guard will be provided for the two above mentioned Missions of San Diego and San Juan Capistrano, during the absence of

Lieut.-Col. Don Juan Bautista Anza and until further advice can reach me, when other proper instructions can be given.

I communicate all the above to your Reverence for your comfort and satisfaction, hoping that under the impulse of the Apostolic zeal with which you are ever animated in the work of these Spiritual Subjugations you will do your part toward carrying out my instructions, assured that I am disposed to provide all the help possible, as I have done until now, in spite of the great distances, for the gathering of those harvests with their accompanying advantages. May God keep your Reverence many years. Mexico, 3rd of April, 1776, Knight Commander Antonio Bucareli y Ursua. To the Father Fr. Junípero Serra.

If the Venerable Father Junípero could have received these two letters as soon as they had been written he would not have had to suffer so much, as we shall see he did in the next chapter, for the long distances and the unavoidable delays served to keep him in a prolonged and bloodless martyrdom.

CHAPTER XLII

The Venerable Father Junípero Goes Down to San Diego. He Tries to Re-establish the Mission. All His Desires and Efforts are Frustrated.

FROM the first moment in which the news of the happenings in the Mission of San Diego had reached him, the Venerable Father President was filled with the most consuming anxiety and desire to go down to that port. But his wishes were frustrated, as we have seen in the former chapter, first, because of the haste of Commander Rivera, and afterwards by the arrival of the expedition from Sonora, it being the continued object of all his desires that that Mission which had been burned might be rebuilt. For a whole half year he saw himself no nearer the accomplishment of his desires, until God willed it that the packet-boats should arrive at Monterey, and that "El Principe," after leaving part of its cargo, should go back down the coast to San Diego with the rest. So he embarked in it on the 30th of June and after twelve days of voyage arrived at San Diego and went ashore, being accompanied by another Missionary, Father Fr. Vicente Santa Maria, who had come out with the vessels, and whom the Prelate assigned to one of those Missions.

The Venerable Prelate found that the three Fathers were living in the garrison, the two from San Juan Capistrano and the one who had remained alive after the attack on San Diego. After having consoled and encouraged them, they told him that their heaviest burden was the fact that there was nothing for them to do and that they were there idle. He asked them how the Indians were, if there was any excitement among them, and they replied that there was not, that, just as the Commander had already written to His Excellency, everything had been pacified, that the chiefs had been taken prisoners and that they intended to send them by ship to San Blas, where they would be punished as they deserved.

When his Reverence had learned these facts he tried to comfort the Fathers, and with great patience and prudence waited until the unloading of the vessel had been accomplished. Then, when he saw that the task was about concluded, he spoke to the Commander of the vessel, Don Diego Choquet, asking him if the sailors might not go and help in the work of the Mission of the Patron Saint whose name he bore (San Diego), saying that both he and the sailors would receive their reward from God and that His Excellency would rightly interpret such action. To this the Captain replied like a gentleman, saying that not only the sailors but he himself was ready to go and work as a common laborer. After receiving so Christlike a reply he sent a written request to the land Commander saying that, in view of the necessary detention of the vessel until the middle of October and also in view of the kind offer of the captain to allow his crew to help in the rebuilding of the Mission, he begged for the Mission guard to be sent in order that the work might be begun. In answer to the request a corporal and five soldiers were detailed for the work and sent on the 22d of August of the year 1776.

The Venerable Father President began the work with the help of two of the Missionaries, the Captain of the vessel and one of the Pilots, the Quartermaster and twenty sailors, all of them armed with guns and sabres, in view of what might happen. All the converted Indians able to work also went along, as did the corporal with his five soldiers. Upon arriving at the spot the men were distributed, to the number of fifty laborers, besides the ranchmen and cooks. Some of them began to carry stone, others to dig the trenches, others to make adobes, not only the Pilot and Quartermaster acting as overseers, for which purpose they had come, but also the Fathers and the Captain of the packet-boat acting in this capacity as well.

The work progressed with so much enthusiasm and all labored with so much good will that if we may judge by what they accomplished in two weeks all would have been done before the time for the sailing of the vessel, and an adobe wall would have been built around the whole establishment. But this time the Enemy succeeded in stopping the work, not through the instrumentality of the pagans, as not a single one of these showed himself anywhere about, but through the land Commander (Rivera), who, on the day of the Nativity of Our Lady, the 8th of September (while the Venerable Father happened to be at the garrison and to whom not a word had been said), left the garrison for the Mission and there, calling aside the Commander of the vessel, told him that there was a rumor about that the pagans were about to make another attack on the Mission and that it behooved him to retire his men to his ship. He also stated that he was about to give orders to the corporal to retire with his soldiers to the presidio. "You will do me the favor," he added, "to let the Fathers know this, for I do not want to tell them, as I know how very badly they will feel."

The Captain of the vessel, with all his earnestness, arguments and skill, could not make him desist from his purpose, though he asked him if he had made any effort to find out the truth in the matter. To this he answered that he had not, but as it was something which the Indians were repeating from mouth to mouth he had no doubt it was so. "Well, sir," the other replied, "the other time that these rumors were being circulated you sent out a sergeant to make inquiry and you found that it was all a lie, and that the villages were very quiet, and that the Indians were very much distressed and repentant on account of what had been done. Why don't you send out and make another inquiry? With all the armed troops which are here, there is nothing to fear. It would be much more to your credit if you have any fears in the matter to put here a larger guard, rather than retiring your guard and bringing shame upon our Spanish arms." All these arguments, instead of convincing him (Rivera), made him the more angry, and leaving strict orders with the corporal to retire his men, he set out for the presidio.

The Captain of the vessel communicated to the Fathers the orders which he had received from the land Commander, telling them at the same time all the arguments which he had presented to him, to persuade him to desist from his purpose, but without avail. "I see," he said, "that there is no reason to retire and that it is a great shame, but I do not wish to have a quarrel with this man, and so I suppose that we must go." The Fathers felt very sorry about it, but none so much so as the Venerable Father President. As soon as he was informed as to the retreat, he was almost beside himself, being able only to say, "Let the will of the Lord be done," and so find some relief for the pain in his heart, as he knew that God only could provide the remedy. So he charged the Fathers to commend themselves to our God.

No less was the regret which His Excellency felt when he heard of what had happened, as indeed he did when the Captain of the vessel arrived in San Blas. His Excellency immediately dispatched an order to the Governor of the Province living in Loreto, of Old California, instructing him to move his residence immediately to Monterey, and ordering that Captain

Rivera should be retired to Loreto. This His Excellency communicated to the Venerable Father President in a long letter, dated the 25th of December of the same year, 1776, from which I extract the following clauses, and from which can be learned what strict orders were given to the Governor.

COPY OF THE LETTER

I do not doubt that the suspension of the re-establishment of the ruined Mission at San Diego must have caused your Reverence great pain, as indeed it has caused me no little displeasure when I knew of it, especially when we consider the frivolous motives which were alleged as reasons, if I may judge from the letter of the Naval Lieut. Don Diego Choquet, Commander of the packet-boat "El Principe."

I suppose that with the arrival of the twenty-five men which I ordered to be recruited as reinforcements to the troops in that garrison, Don Fernando Rivera must have dedicated himself to the carrying out of our orders and also proceeded to the erection of the Mission of San Juan Capistrano in the place already selected; but if this has not been done I hope your Reverence will not doubt but that the Governor of these provinces to whom has been sent the order that he move his residence to the garrison of Monterey, will carry out these plans, if he has not done so quite to the satisfaction of your Reverence, because of the zeal which animates him in the service and the other good qualities which adorn his character.

I instruct and require that everything possible should be done for the development of these enterprises, charging him strictly that in case the re-establishment of the Mission of San Diego has not been accomplished, nor that of San Juan Capistrano founded, that he see to the carrying out of this plan at once. I require of him what I formerly required of Don Fernando Rivera; namely, that the chiefs and the authors of the former uprising are not to be punished, in order that the mercy which we show them, when they deserve the severest penalty, may serve them as an example and cause them to come again to live quietly and obediently under our care.

One of the things which I also strictly charge is the erection of the Mission of Santa Clara in the neighborhood of the garrison of San Francisco, with this Saint as Patron; and although I had given the order that these take the preference to the two which your Reverence asks for as very necessary in the Channel of Santa Barbara and another one in the land which lies between one Mission and the other, in order to make more sure the line of communication, it may be wise to suspend it until later, and until the others have been perfectly established. So that in view of this your Reverence may send me word by the return ships what utensils may be needed for them in order that I may provide for their forwarding, remembering in the meanwhile that the erection of these other Missions is not to be omitted, but that preference should be given, it seems to me, to the Missions planned in the Channel of Santa Barbara, in order to bring about the subjugation of the many pagan people who populate that region.

The Governor, Don Felipe Neve, is charged with the duty of consulting me, proposing to me whatever he may conceive as proper and necessary for the greater happiness and progress of these Missions, and he is also charged that in everything he is to labor in accord with your Reverence, and I hope that, continuing with that fervent zeal which ever fills the mind of your Reverence for the propagation of the Faith, the conversion of souls, and the extension of the dominion of the King in those remote regions, you will order put into effect all feasible plans, consulting me as to what may be necessary, in order that I may provide for their effective accomplishment. May God keep your Reverence many years. Mexico, 25th of December, 1776. Knight Commander Don Antonio Bucareli y Ursua. To Reverend Father Junípero Serra.

If these very favorable provisions for the propagation of the Faith and consolatory letters from His Excellency could have come into the hands of the fervent Father Junípero as quickly as we are able to insert them here, in order to conserve the thread of the story, his Reverence would not have suffered all that he did; but the long delay, on account of the great distance from Mexico, greatly afflicted his heart, although he always lived resigned to the Divine Will, in which service and for whose glory he suffered this mute martyrdom. For every order which was given by the Commander of these military posts which either prevented or retarded the conversion of the gentiles was an arrow sharper than any that had served to take the life of the Venerable Father Frey Luis Jayme, and the order which came to suspend the rebuilding of the Mission of San Diego was not the least of these which penetrated the heart of the Venerable and fervent Prelate. But when he saw that no further human means were available he had recourse to God, begging that He who was the Lord of this Vineyard should supply the remedy, and to Him he constantly presented his petition in the Holy Sacrifices and prayers, and also charged the other Fathers to do the same, until finally the Lord sent him the comfort that he longed for, as we shall see in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XLIII

Reinforcements Arrive, Bringing Favorable Orders Under Which the Re-establishment of the Mission of San Diego is Effected and the Founding of San Juan Capistrano is Accomplished.

THREE weeks after the work on the rebuilding of San Diego had been suspended, the troops arrived from Old California for that garrison, being the twenty-five soldiers which His Excellency had ordered sent as reinforcements. The Corporal in command brought to the Reverend Father President the two very consolatory letters from His Excellency, which we have just copied in Chapter XLI. This good word, which the Venerable President received on the 29th of September, — the feast of the most Glorious Prince Saint Michael [San Miguel], recently granted anew by His Holiness to be the Patron Saint of all the Missions of our College,—brought great rejoicing to the heart of the fervent Father, who could not help expressing his joy by ordering a solemn ringing of the bells and celebrating on the next day a solemn Mass in thanksgiving for this great blessing, charging the Fathers that they do the same in the Low Masses and that they especially pray for the health and life of His Excellency, the zealous and pious Viceroy.

When the Commander had been informed of the superior orders of His Excellency he immediately put at liberty the Indian prisoners whom he had intended to send by ship to San Blas, and he got ready the guard of twelve soldiers for the Mission of San Diego, in order that they might proceed with the rebuilding of that Mission, as well as with the founding of the Mission of San Juan Capistrano, for which he assigned ten men and a corporal. He also added two to the Mission of San Gabriel, leaving the remainder in the garrison, which now had a force of thirty men. As he did not want to be present at the work of the Missions, he went away to Monterey with the twelve men assigned to the Mission of our Father St. Francis.

As soon as our fervent Father Junípero found himself provided with the help he needed, without loss of time he proceeded to the rebuilding of the Mission of San Diego with the other two Missionaries, who moved to the spot with all the converts, and diligently began the work, in which the natives took part with the greatest joy and with such vigor that they could see that it would not be very long before the Mission was again in running order. As soon as things were well started his Reverence left the work in the hands of the two Missionaries and returned to the garrison, in order to make ready for the founding of the Mission of San Juan Capistrano. But first, as the vessel was shortly to sail, he wrote a letter to His Excellency thanking him for the pardon granted the Indians and stating that they had been set at liberty. He also thanked him for the increase in the troops and for the other orders and instructions which he had sent, and in fulfillment of which he was glad to say that the work of San Diego was progressing, to the great joy of the Indians, and that as soon as the vessel sailed he would proceed to the founding of San Juan Capistrano.

This plan he carried out, taking with him the two Missionaries, the Father Lector Fr. Pablo Mugartegui and the Father Fr. Gregorio Amurrio, and all the equipment belonging to that Mission, under the escort of ten soldiers. They arrived at the place where they found the Cross still standing; they dug up the bells which had been buried and hung them for service. At the ringing of them the Indians flocked in, rejoicing to see that the Fathers had returned to their land. A shelter of boughs was made and an altar erected on which the Venerable Father President said the first Mass. As he was desirous of seeing the work progress rapidly, his Reverence undertook a journey to the Mission of San Gabriel, in order to bring some of the converts to help in the work, besides provisions for all, and the cattle which were there.

On his way back to the new Mission with this assistance he was so anxious to arrive at the earliest possible moment that he went ahead of the pack-train with one of the soldiers who had charge of the cattle and with one of the neophytes from San Gabriel. When about half way, or about ten leagues from the Mission, he found himself in sudden danger of being killed by the pagans. As his Reverence himself told me the first time I saw him afterwards, he surely believed that they were about to take his life, for a great crowd of them sprang out in front of him in the road, all painted and well armed, yelling in the most dreadful fashion and putting arrows to the bows, as if about to kill the Father and the soldier with the evident intention of stealing the cattle. He was providentially saved from this danger by the native Christian who, when he saw the hostile attitude of the gentiles, cried out to them, telling them not to kill the Father as there were many soldiers coming behind and that they would destroy them all. When they heard this in their own language they were restrained, and immediately the Father called to them and had them all draw near, they being now converted into gentle lambs. He made the sign of the Cross upon them all, as was his custom, and then he made them presents of glass beads (of which they are very fond) and so left them as friends, and went on his journey, with no other incident than the fatigue of the trip and the pain in his foot. Upon his arrival at the site of the new Mission, bringing the assistance of so many laborers and abundant provisions, the work of construction went on apace.

The site of the Mission is a beautiful one with a fine view from the houses out over the sea, as it is only half a league distant from the shore, with a good anchorage even for frigates, and defended from the weather during that part of the season when the vessels visit this coast, as the south winds which blow at that time are not very strong, and the harbor is open in that direction. From the north and west the vessels are well protected by a high point of land which juts out quite a way into the sea, forming a bay, which the Naval Officers called San Juan Capistrano, and in which there is a good-sized inlet, into which the stream of fresh water which runs down by the side of the Mission empties. It is near this inlet that the vessels unload their cargoes for this Mission and for that of San Gabriel, saving themselves the labor of going to the port of San Diego in order to transport their cargoes by mule-train.

The Mission is situated at north latitude 33½°, and twenty-six leagues from the Mission and port of San Diego and only eighteen leagues to the southeast from San Gabriel. The climate is good, with its warm days in summer and its cold days in winter, but until now undoubtedly salubrious. There is a rainy season and the irrigation is much helped by the waters of the little stream, which enable them to obtain abundant harvests of wheat and corn, beans and vegetables, not only in sufficient quantities for the converts, but quite a little is left over for the support of the troops, which is given in exchange for clothing for the Indians. There is also plenty of pasture for all kinds of cattle, and the herds are on the increase.

Having noticed from the very first that all this land was covered with wild grape-vines so that they looked like vineyards, the Fathers started to plant some grafted vines which they brought from Old California and from them they have already obtained wine in quantities not only sufficient for the service of the Mass but also for table use. They have also an abundance of Spanish fruits — pomegranates, peaches, apricots, quinces, etc.

With the help of the interpreter, whom the Venerable Father President and Founder had brought from San Gabriel, it was easy to announce from the very beginning what was the object that brought them to live among the Indian people; namely, that of showing them the way to heaven and to make Christians of them that they might be saved. This they so clearly understood and so heartily accepted that they soon began to ask for baptism and (I am quoting from the letters which the Fathers wrote), that in like manner as the gentiles of other Missions had burdened the Fathers with their continual asking for things to eat and for other little presents, those of San Juan Capistrano were continually asking that they might be baptized, as it seemed hard for them to wait the time necessary for their instruction. Therefore, with this help of which we have spoken, the Spiritual Work was carried on with enthusiasm, and the first baptisms very shortly celebrated. The number of these continued to increase so rapidly that when the Venerable Father Founder Fr. Junípero died there were four hundred and seventy-two of the natives in that place and adjacent villages who were converts. Soon after his most exemplary death this number was greatly increased.

Afterwards, when I wrote to all the Missionaries, sending them word concerning the death of the Venerable Prelate, I related to them how, a little before he died, he had promised me that if he was granted entrance to the presence of God he would intercede for us all and especially for the conversion of the gentiles. The Father Lector Fr. Pablo Mugartegui, in reply to my letter, wrote as follows: "It seems to me that I can already see how the promise made by our Venerable Father Junípero is being here fulfilled, for in these last three months we have had more baptisms than in the previous three years, and many are coming in to be instructed. Thank God! We trust in the Lord that we shall bring about the conversion of all the rest."

So great was this thirst for the conversion of souls which possessed the Venerable Father Junípero that neither the reconstruction of the Mission of San Diego nor the founding of that of San Juan Capistrano seemed to satisfy him, but he was much concerned for the founding of the Missions near this port of our Father St. Francis [San Francisco], concerning which, on account of the great distance of about two hundred leagues, he had not had a single word. In order to be relieved of this anxiety and to have a hand in its founding in case that work had not been accomplished, he started out for Monterey, visiting on the way the three Missions of San Gabriel, San Luis [Obispo] and San Antonio, where he had the pleasure of seeing them greatly enlarged in spiritual and temporal things, and the Fathers very happy. He improved the occasion to baptize some of the catechumens in order to have spiritual children in each of them. He spent six months in these Apostolic labors, arriving at his own Mission of San Carlos with the merit of all this work upon him, in the month of January of 1777, and here he had the crowning desire of his heart satisfied with the good news that the two Missions of this port had been established, as I will tell in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XLIV

Instructions Which Were Given by His Excellency, the Viceroy, for the Founding of the Missions of Our Father St. Francis [San Francisco].

ONE of the matters which the Venerable Father Junípero presented to His Excellency at the time of his visit to Mexico City was the establishing of the two Missions of our Father St. Francis and Santa Clara, which had been projected as early as the year 1770. When his Reverence saw that in the provisional ordinance which had been drawn up no reference at all was made to these Missions, but rather that the way seemed closed in this direction, he made a special plea for them with His Excellency, bringing to his attention the very large number of conversions which must result from their establishment. Now as a result of the frequent conversations which this gentleman had had with the enthusiastic Father, his own noble heart had been set on fire with a love for the conversion of the pagans, so he made haste to console him by saying that he need not worry about them, that he would be personally responsible for these two Missions; that the Royal Council had in mind the limited number of troops available for these Missions and the difficulty of their transportation. He told the Father to ask God to grant the opening of communication by way of the Colorado River and that when this was done he would see not only the founding of these two but of as many more as might be thought necessary. He was much comforted by this answer and began to ask God for the success of the expedition of Don Juan Bautista de Anza. This our Lord was pleased to grant even before his Reverence had arrived at the Mission of San Carlos, as we have noted in Chapter XXXV.

As soon as Capt. Anza arrived in Mexico City and reported to His Excellency concerning his commission, stating that the pass by the way of the Colorado River had been discovered and a road opened from Sonora to Monterey, through many Indian tribes who had all shown themselves friendly, His Excellency ordered this same Captain to prepare himself for a second expedition and that he ask for what might be needed, in order to recruit — in the Provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora — thirty armed soldiers, men with families, which they were to take, and besides other families to go as colonists, that upon their arrival at the place of the new Missions they might there establish a Spanish town. The expenses for this recruiting and transportation from the Provinces to Monterey were to be paid from the royal treasury, which supplied him with all that he needed. The Captain set out from Mexico to carry out the plans of this second expedition early in the year 1775.

His Excellency, the Viceroy, was glad to communicate this news to the Venerable Father President, not only for his consolation beforehand, but that he might continue to pray God for the success of the expedition. This communication was sent by letter on the 15th of December, 1774, and he was charged with the naming of four Missionaries to act as Ministers of the two Missions which were to be founded, one under the advocacy of our Father, San Francisco, and the other under that of Santa Clara, both to be under the protection of the garrison which was to be established in the port of San Francisco.

The Venerable Prelate received this joyful news on the 27th of June, 1775, by the packet-boat "San Carlos," whose Captain was the Naval Lieutenant of the royal squadron, Don Juan de Ayala. His orders were to leave in Monterey the cargo of provisions and the letters and then to go on to the port of San Francisco and explore it, in order to see if there was an entrance to it through the channel or strait which had been seen only by land. This he did, and only nine days after sailing from the port of Monterey he reached the port of San Francisco without incident and found that the channel was quite deep and that it could be entered even by night without difficulty. The "throat" of the entrance was scarcely a league in length and in the narrowest place only a quarter of a league in width. The entrance was without bar or shoal and with strong currents setting in and out with the flood and ebb of the tide.

On entering the inlet they found a great inland sea with two branches, the one which extends to the southward about fifteen leagues, and the other extending from three, four and five leagues wide to the north. Within this inlet they found a great bay, almost ten leagues wide, and almost round, into which the great river of our Father San Francisco empties, and which is over a quarter of a league in width. They found that this was formed by five large rivers which, winding down through an immense plain stretching away to the distant horizon, unite to form this one large river. This immense quantity of water empties out through the narrow passage into the Pacific Ocean at the bay which is called "The Farallones."

The packet-boat spent forty days in this port and succeeded in exploring it thoroughly with the help of the launch, coming into communication with many villages of the Indians who were all quiet, peaceful and very courteous. They made drawings of all they saw and explored, taking notice that the entrance of the port was a few minutes less than 38 degrees north, although inside and up the branch which runs northward they found the sea extending considerably beyond that latitude. When the exploration was finished, they returned to the port of Monterey, about the middle of September and there told us what they had seen. When we asked the Captain if it seemed like a good port he answered: "It is not a port, but a whole pocketful of ports into which a great many squadrons could enter without one being discovered by the other, except that they would see one another while entering or going out through the narrow entrance." He assured us that all the harbors were well protected.

An account of all this was sent to His Excellency, with the map which the Commander of the vessel had made. The Venerable Father President also wrote, sending his thanks and congratulations for the efficient steps taken in behalf of these Spiritual Conquests, advising him at the same time that he had named as Missionaries for the two Missions the following men: For the Mission of Santa Clara, Fr. Joseph Murguia, son of the Apostolic College, and Fr. Tomas de la Peña, of the Province of Cantabria; and for the Mission of our Father San Francisco, Fr. Pedro Benito Cambon of the Province of Santiago of Galicia, and myself, the least of the sons of that Holy Province of Mallorca. He also stated that we were ready to undertake the founding of the Missions as soon as the expedition from Sonora should arrive, for whose safe arrival we ceased not to make prayers to God.

The news which His Excellency received concerning the exploration of this port and its good qualities served as an additional incentive to his desire that these Missions might be founded. But as the distance by land from Mexico is so great that in the opinion of the Commander of the expedition, Don Juan de Anza, who had traversed it twice, it could not be less than one thousand leagues, and as so many accidents might happen in the recruiting of soldiers and colonists, which would surely cause delay, besides the fact that an expedition composed of so many people of all ages must necessarily travel very slowly, it is not surprising that much more time was spent than His Excellency had expected, so that when all the people of the expedition had been gotten ready, by September of the year 1775, in the garrison of San Miguel de Orcasitas of the Province of Sonora, and though the expedition set out from that garrison on the 29th of that month, holy day of that Saint, it did not arrive at the Mission of San Gabriel until the 4th of January of the following year, 1776, having spent in the journey among territories where there were no Christians but in which all were heathen, ninety-eight days, including a few spent in camp in order to allow the beasts and people to rest.

They were delayed in the Mission of San Gabriel, as we have already related in Chapter XLI, by the expedition of the Commander with his troop to San Diego. When this matter had been attended to, twelve soldiers were left with Commander Rivera, and the rest, with all the people, went on to Monterey, where they arrived without incident on the 10th of March. On the next day we all went to attend the High Mass of Thanksgiving, which was sung by Father Pedro Font, Missionary of the Apostolic College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro, Minister of the Missions of Sonora, who had come along as the Chaplain of the expedition. The people took up their residence in the garrison of Monterey and rested there till June, as we shall see later.

The Commander Anza had orders from His Excellency that as soon as he had safely arrived at Monterey he was to go on with Commander Rivera to make exploration of the land in the neighborhood of the port in order to determine the sites for the location of the garrison and of the Missions; but when the latter Commander excused himself on the plea that his presence was necessary in San Diego on account of what had happened, and left the whole matter in the hands of Commander Anza, this officer undertook the exploration, taking with him Don Joseph Moraga, Lieut.-Captain, and named to act as Commander of the new garrison. Taking with them a detachment of soldiers, they made the exploration, marked the sites, and returned to Monterey, sending an account of what they had done by letter to Commander Rivera in which they suggested that he proceed to the founding of the Missions as soon as possible, as His Excellency had instructed them, and if the Commander could not leave his other work so soon, that he give the commission to Lieut. Moraga, who had had a part in the exploration. He also said that further delay was to be avoided, if possible, because the people who were still waiting in Monterey were much disgusted because they had not been able to reach, as yet, their destination. When he had taken these steps Lieut.-Colonel Don Juan Bautista de Anza considered that he had finished his commission and so returned to Sonora with the ten soldiers which he had brought with him to serve as his escort on the return journey. From there he went on to Mexico to give an account to the Viceroy concerning the commission which had been committed to his charge.

CHAPTER XLV

The Founding of the Mission and Presidio of Our Father, San Francisco.

AS soon as the Commander, who was in San Diego, received the letter from Captain Anza, he sent an order to Lieutenant Moraga instructing him to proceed with all the people who had come from Sonora to the founding of the garrison of this port of our Father San Francisco. The latter, as soon as he received these instructions, ordered every one to prepare to set out on the 17th of June. A few days later the two packet-boats arrived in Monterey with the provisions, letters and equipment. The Captain of "El Principe" had orders to leave here a part of the cargo and to take the rest down to the port of San Diego. It was then that the Venerable Prelate determined to improve the opportunity and to go down with him, as we have already related in Chapter XLII.

The Commander and Captain of the packet-boat "San Carlos," who was Naval Lieut. Don Fernando de Quiros, was under orders, also from His Excellency, to leave in Monterey the cargo belonging to that garrison and then to go on with the rest to this new port in order to help in the founding. The Venerable President decided that the two Missionaries who were to go to the Mission of our Father San Francisco should travel, both of us, with the land expedition, for, while the Commander Rivera had not given the order for the founding of the Missions, because he had with him in San Diego the twelve soldiers who were to act as guard of this Mission, it was thought he would not delay long in sending them, and as anyway all the equipment was to be transported thither by ship we would be able to act as prudence might best dictate in the matter. In view of this resolution, we put on board the packet-boat everything which belonged to this Mission of our Father, leaving behind only the vestments and chapel furnishings, taking with us on the land journey of forty-two leagues only what was most necessary, in order that we might keep up with the expedition without any delay on account of the freight.

The land expedition set out from the garrison of Monterey on the day indicated, 17th of June, 1776, being composed of the aforementioned Commander, Lieut. Don Joseph Moraga, a Sergeant with sixteen mounted and armored soldiers, all of them married men, the large families of the seven colonists, together with the families of a few others who had joined them with their respective servants, the cattle-men and muleteers who were driving the cattle belonging to the garrison, and the pack-train with the provisions and utensils necessary for the journey, leaving all the rest to be brought in the packet-boat which was also to sail on the same day. Those of us who were to constitute the Mission were the two Missionaries already named, two young men-servants, two converted Indians from Old California and another from the Mission of San Carlos who went along to see if he could not serve us as an interpreter (but as we found the language was different, he was only able to help in taking care of the cattle). The whole expedition thus started out for this port.

Four days before arriving at the port in the great plain which had been named San Bernardino, as the expedition was strung out along the road, a herd of large animals that looked like cattle could be seen ahead of us, but we could not imagine where they could have come from or from what pasturage they might have escaped. Some soldiers immediately went ahead to catch them in order that they might not stampede the tame cattle which we were driving; but when they came near enough they saw they were not cattle, but deer, or a species of deer, as large as the largest ox or bull, with antlers of the same form or figure as those of the deer, but so long that they measured sixteen palms from tip to tip. The soldiers succeeded in killing three of them which they brought in on mules to the place where we stopped for water, about half a league distant.

When they tried to load one of them onto a mule they found that he could not carry it except by changing from one animal to the other, and only thus were they able to bring it in entire so that we could have the pleasure of seeing the animal which, indeed, looked like a monster with his tremendous horns. I was curious enough to measure them and found that they measured four *varas* (11 ft.), as I have said. I also noticed that under each eye there was a hollow place which made it look as though the animal had four eyes, though of course the two below were without eye-balls and seemed to serve for the discharge of the tear glands. The soldiers who had run the animals down said that they had noticed that they always ran with the wind. This undoubtedly must have been on account of the weight of their tremendous horns, which reach out so wide and have so many points that they form a sort of fan which, if the animal were to run against the wind would be likely either to upset him or hinder him in his speed. Of the fifteen which the soldiers saw they were only able to come up with three of them though they had good horses. The animals furnished our people with meat for several days, as it was cooked and lasted until we reached the port. The flesh is very savory and wholesome and so fat that from the one which they brought in entire they filled a bag and a half with the lard and tallow. They called these animals *ciervos* (elk), in order to distinguish them from the ordinary animals with which we are acquainted in Spain, and which the people here call *venados* (deer). These latter are also to be found near the port in great numbers and of large size, some of them being of a yellow or sorrel color.

In these same plains of San Bernardino, which stretch over half the way between the ports of Monterey and San Francisco, there is another species of deer about the size of a three year old sheep, of the same form as the deer, but with this difference, that they have small horns and short legs, like the sheep. These are abundant in the plains and can be seen in herds of one or two hundred, or even more, running all together across the plain. They seem almost to fly, having a custom, whenever they see travelers, of running across the road ahead of them. It is not easy to catch them in the plain, although the soldiers made a great effort to do so, and only succeeded when the hunters took the precaution to divide themselves into groups and station themselves at vantage points, while others down on the plains frightened the animals and started them running and so tired them out without tiring their own horses. In this way, as soon as they noticed that some one of the animals was lagging behind, which was a sign of weariness, the riders would dash after them on horseback and so separate them from the herd, and in this way secure them. On other occasions they would succeed in getting them to run up the hillsides where they were easily captured, because, unlike the deer, they are fleet only on the plains. They call these animals *berendos*[21] (antelope), and there are many of the same in the regions about the Missions in the south where there are plains. But the large elk are found only to the north of Monterey. The presence of these animals greatly pleased the soldiers and the colonists who composed the expedition and when they had rested there one day at the camp called "The Wounds of our Father San Francisco," the expedition proceeded to this port.

On the 27th of June we arrived at a place in the vicinity of this port where a camp was formed, which was composed of fifteen tents erected on the edge of a large lake (Laguna de las Dolores) which empties into the arm of the sea or inlet of the port, which projects southward fifteen leagues from the entrance, and here we waited for the vessel to arrive, in order to designate the site for the garrison, in view of what might prove to be the best anchoring place. As soon as the expedition halted, a great many of the pagans came in, making signs of friendship and expressing their pleasure at our arrival. Their good will was greatly increased when they saw with what courtesy we treated them, and when they received the little presents which we gave them of beads and trinkets to attract them, and also of our food. They continued to visit us frequently, bringing us presents of small value, principally shell-fish and grass seeds.

On the next day after our arrival an arbor was built in which an altar was set up and there I said the first Mass on the day of St. Peter and St. Paul. My companion likewise immediately celebrated the Holy Sacrifice and we continued saying Mass every day for a whole month while we remained in this place. In the meantime, as the vessel had not arrived, we busied ourselves by exploring the country and visiting the Indian villages where we were always well received with every sign that our presence in the country was welcome. The people showed themselves courteous by returning the visits, whole villages coming in to see us and bringing their little presents, which we tried to return in a little better kind and so win their affection.

In the exploration which we made we found that we were on a peninsula without other exit or entrance than to the southward and southeast, as on every other side we were surrounded by salt water. On the east we had the inlet which extends to the southeast, although as it is only about three leagues wide we could easily see the land and the mountains on the other side. To the north stretched away another arm of the sea and on the west and south was the great Pacific Ocean with the roadstead of the Farallones at the mouth or entrance of the port.

When we saw that the vessel was long delayed we decided to begin to cut the timber for the construction of the presidio near the entrance of the port and for the building of the Mission near the little lake in the plain which lies to the westward. After waiting a month at this place with no signs of the ship nor any orders from Commander Rivera as to the sending of the soldiers, the Lieutenant decided to leave us six soldiers for a guard in this place which had been selected for the Mission, as well as two of the colonists, while he moved on with all the rest of the people to a place near the entrance of the port in order to begin to work there while waiting for the arrival of the packet-boat.

This latter entered the port on the 18th of August, having been delayed by contrary winds, which had carried it away southward as far as latitude 32°. With the help of the sailors which the Commander of the packet-boat divided between the garrison and the Mission, a house was constructed at the former place for a chapel and another for a storehouse. At the latter a house was built for the chapel and another with several rooms for the dwellings of the Fathers. The soldiers also built their houses, both in the presidio and in the Mission, all being constructed of wood, with roofs of thatch. Formal possession of the presidio was taken on the 17th of September, the Day of the Impression of the Stigmata of Our Holy Father St. Francis,[11] Patron Saint of the presidio and port. After having blessed, venerated and set up the Holy Cross, I on that day sang the first High Mass, closing the service with a *Te Deum*. The officers then performed the solemn act of taking possession in the name of Our Sovereign, with a cannonade from vessel and shore, and with the discharge of musketry by the troops.

The formal possession of the Mission was delayed because we were hoping that the order from Commander Rivera would arrive, and in the meantime the Commanders of the presidio and packet-boat decided to make an expedition by sea in order to explore the great arm of water which projects inland from the harbor to the north, that they might discover, if possible, at what point the great river of Our Father St. Francis empties into the bay and flows out between the headland at the mouth of this port. Before starting out they agreed upon the point at which they were to meet so that the men of the ship might go up the river in the launch, while the land expedition traveled along the river bank.

The captain of the packet-boat, Don Fernando Quiros, Naval Lieutenant, with his first pilot, Don Joseph Cañizares, went in the launch, accompanied by my companion, Fr. Pedro Benito Cambon, in order to deal and communicate with the gentiles. They went northward until they arrived at a headland, where it had been agreed that both expeditions were to unite, in order to proceed with the exploration together. On the same day the Commander of the presidio, taking with him the troop which he thought necessary, started southward, going along the edge of the great inlet, or arm of the sea, until he came to the head of it, a distance of about fifteen leagues, where he found a good sized river emptying in, which is called Our Lady of Guadalupe. They had to go up along the bank in a southeasterly direction for some distance before they could cross on horseback. Once on the other shore of the inlet they saw that they would have to travel back again the whole fifteen leagues in order to come to the place opposite the port and from there they would still have to travel northward along the coast quite a distance before they could come to the headland which had been agreed upon as a place for meeting the sea expedition, so, in order to save time, considering that an opening which they found in the hills would enable them to make a short cut on their way to this place of union, they decided to leave the seashore and to enter the defile. But it turned out to be quite different from what they expected and for this reason they saw nothing of their companions in all the journey. After following up the ravine which led them through the hills they came out upon a great plain a long way from the shore and farther away still from the headland agreed upon. Now, considering that it was too late for them to find their companions there, as the time had long passed, they decided to go on across this wide plain in which they could see the valleys of five rivers, judging them to be such by the lines of trees which they could see from a distance in the bottoms of the valleys, all of them winding in and out and coming down from different directions and making their way toward the port. They traveled on till they came to the first line of trees which they saw and here they found a great river with its margin lined with large trees of different sorts. They went up along the bank as they did not dare to cross it on account of the volume of water. They found here several native villages, the Indians of which were all friendly, with whom they put themselves in communication by making them presents of beads and receiving fish in return. Some of these accompanied them up stream.

Having indicated by means of signs to the Indians that they desired to cross the river they learned that this could not be done, except by going farther up stream. This they did and succeeded in crossing, although with much difficulty, and only in one place which the Indians showed them, traveling on across this wide plain in which no hills were to be seen in any direction, but which stretched away on all sides as far as the eye could reach, with the sun rising and setting as if they were on the high seas. Finding all this country uninhabited, probably because of a lack of water and wood, they encountered Indians only when they drew near to some river-bed where water and wood could be had and where there was shelter under the trees from the excessive heat which was felt in those immense plains. The Indians also prefer the river-beds because of the abundance of fish which can be obtained and because it is easier for them there to kill the elk, which are very plentiful, and which seem like great herds of cattle feeding on the plains near the rivers where the grass is green. On the other hand the elk also seem to prefer the pasturage near the river-beds because it is easier for them when pursued to throw themselves into the river and swim to the other side. Though for all that the Indians are not lacking in tricks for catching them, and so keep themselves provided with meat during the greater part of the year.

When the Commander saw that it would be impossible to continue the exploration of the other rivers, or even of this one which he had crossed, to find out where it came from, he contented himself with what he had done and returned to the presidio and made his report, adding that he thought the river came from the great rush lakes (Tulares) and other waters which had been found in the hills back of the Missions of San Antonio and San Luis to the eastward.

The sea expedition sailed directly to the headland where they expected to meet the land expedition, but after waiting long after the time indicated without seeing anything of them, they explored the coast and treated with the Indians who lived in the villages among the rushes, finding them all friendly, and glad to offer their presents of fish in return for our trinkets and biscuit. They sailed completely around the round bay, which is about ten leagues across, and which is as far as the whales go. Here they found the mouth of a large river, which was a quarter of a league in width, and near it was a large port which they called "The Assumption of our Lady," no less beautiful and protected than the port of San Diego. They could see near by the high mountains of our Father San Francisco, and judging by the latitude which they had reached, seeing they had traveled toward the north nearly all the way, they judged that the extreme end of the mountain range which ran toward the west must terminate in the Cape of Mendocino.

In the exploration which they made toward the west, they found several inlets, and among them one very wide one, which was so long that they could not see the end of it. They began to suspect it communicated with the Pacific at the port called Bodegas, in which case all the point of land belonging to the port called Punta del Reyes would be an island. They entered the inlet to explore it, giving it the name of "Our Lady of Ransom" and after sailing a whole day and a night towards the west, on the second day they found the end of it and so were convinced that all this hidden inland sea (Mediterranean) had no other communication with the Pacific except through the "throat" of land where are the Headlands and the presidio, which, in the widest place is not more than half a league, and about a league in length, with strong currents, stretching directly east and west and emptying out into the bay called the Headlands [Farallones] which lies to the west of the mouth of the port and is at latitude 37° 56′, measuring from Point Reyes. There are good anchoring places outside where vessels can anchor in order to come in with the tide. The same is true of the south side, where is the "Shellfish Point," opposite Point Reyes, though it does not project so far. On this latter point and near the entrance to the throat of the port, there are large sand-dunes which, from out at sea, look like immense white hills. At the foot of these there is good anchorage as the vessels have anchored there, and the frigates have also anchored between the two peaks of the Headlands, as well as between the northern promontory and Point Reyes, the latter being about eight leagues from the port.

When the launch had finished the exploration and returned to the port, both Commanders entered into a conference. When they had made a careful note of all that they had seen and observed, in order to give an exact account to His Excellency, and taking into consideration that it was time to return to San Blas, though no word had been received from Commander Rivera authorizing the founding of the Mission of our Father San Francisco, they resolved to take the step themselves and to make the beginning. This they did on the 9th of October.

After having blessed the site, set up the Holy Cross, and made a procession in honor of our Father San Francisco, using an image of that Saint which was carried on a platform and afterwards placed on the altar, I sang the first High Mass and preached, taking as the theme the Life of our Father San Francisco, our Patron Saint. The people of the presidio were present, as well as those from the vessel and the Mission, and they gave the salvos in all the services.

These services were not witnessed by any of the gentiles, because in the month of August they all left this peninsula and went in their rush canoes, some to the uninhabited islands within the port, and others to the farther shores of the strait. This sudden move was caused by the coming unexpectedly upon them of their great enemies, the Salson nation. These last live about six leagues to the southeast in the neighborhood of the inlet. They began to set fire to their villages and to kill and wound many without our being able to hinder them because we did not know anything about it till they had all fled to the other shore, and though we did what we could to detain the last to go, those nearest us, we could not stop them.

This departure of the natives was the reason why the conversion of any of them was delayed, because we did not see any of them again until March of the following year, 1777, when little by little they got over the fear of their enemies and felt more confidence in us. They began to come to the Mission, attracted by presents and other inducements, until we were able to celebrate our first baptisms on St. John the Baptist's Day and from then on the number of Christians slowly increased, until our Venerable Father came to find here, before he died, three hundred and ninety-four baptized. The work of teaching the catechism has continued steadily.

The natives of this place and port are somewhat dark as they are much burned by the sun, while those who have come across the bay to live among us and who have become baptized are whiter and are more robust. All of them, men and women, have the habit of cutting the hair frequently, especially when some relative dies, or they have some other sorrow, and in this case they put handfuls of ashes on their heads, on their faces and other parts of the body. Similar customs prevail among all the tribes of the coast, though others do not have the custom of cutting the hair; but rather in the settlements in the South it seems that the men as well as the women are rather proud of their long hair which they wear in long braids carefully combed. With these the men form a sort of turban, which serves them as a pocket in which they keep their beads, and other trinkets which are given them.

In none of the Missions along the whole two hundred leagues of coast, from here to San Diego, are there any traces of idolatry, but only a sort of negative infidelity. There has not been the least difficulty in inculcating any of the Mysteries. We have only found among the people some superstitions and foolish observances, and among the old people some idle tales such as their saying they can make it rain, that they cause the acorn to grow, etc., or that they cause the whales to come to the coast, or the fish, and so on. But the people are easily convinced, and these liars are rejected by the pagans themselves as falsifiers whose only purpose is their personal interest. Whenever one of them is taken sick, he attributes it to some Indian enemy who wishes to do him harm. They burn the bodies of those who die pagan, in spite of our efforts to stop the custom. It is not so in the South, where they bury the dead, and in many of the villages, principally along the Santa Barbara Channel, they have their enclosed cemeteries for the burial of their dead.

The Indians of this locality live on the grass seeds of the fields, the labor of gathering them in season being relegated to the women, who grind and make the flour for the porridge. Among their seeds they have a black kind from the flour of which they make a *tamal*, in the shape of a ball the size of an orange. These are very savory and taste like toasted almonds, but are very greasy. They find the fish very helpful in supplying a sufficiency of food as there are several species which they catch in both the inland and the outer sea. These are very wholesome and delicious. They also use the shellfish which are never lacking and are also of several kinds. Then there is the hunting of deer, rabbits, wild geese, ducks, partridges and thrushes. They always improve the occasion when a whale is stranded on the shore, and celebrate the event with a great feast, as they are very fond of the meat, which is just pure fat. They cut it into strips which they roast under ground, and they also hang it up on the trees, and whenever they wish to eat, they cut off a piece and eat it with their other food. They do the same with the sea lion, of which they are no less fond, as it is also nearly all pure fat.

They also have acorns which they grind and make into mush or balls. There are also to be had in the mountains and ravines a kind of hazel nut just like those of Spain, and on the hills and sand-dunes are strawberries which are very delicious and much larger than those we have in Spain. These ripen in May and June, as do also the mulberries and blackberries. There is to be found in all the hills a great abundance of soap-root (*amole*) which is about the size of an onion, of a long, round head. These are baked in holes in the ground, where the fire is kept burning for two or three days until they know they are very well baked. Then they take them out and eat them, finding them sweet and juicy like preserved fruit. There is another kind of *amole* which they do not eat as it is not sweet, but which serves them as a soap, which lathers well and which will take out spots just like castile soap.

Although the pagans do not have any need for this, as they wear no other clothing than nature has given them, and present themselves like little Adams without the least sign of shame (that is, the men), in order to protect themselves from the cold, which is keenly felt here in this Mission all the year round, especially in the mornings, they smear themselves over with mud, as they have the idea it protects them from the cold, and as soon as the sun begins to warm up, they wash themselves. The women dress with some degree of modesty and even the small girls are covered. They use for this purpose aprons which they make of the fibers of the rush or sedge. These do not extend below the knee, and another is tied behind at the belt so that the two form a sort of skirt which makes them decently presentable, as they put on another of a similar sort over the shoulders to protect them from the cold.

They have their marriages, but with no more ceremony than a mutual agreement which lasts until they quarrel or separate, taking up again with another man or another woman, the children usually following the mother. They have no other expression for announcing the dissolution of the marriage than simply saying: "I threw him over," or, "I threw her over." Notwithstanding, there are married couples, both old and young, which live together very unitedly and in great peace, tenderly loving their children and being beloved of them. They do not pay any attention to relationship in marriage, but rather, the tendency is to take to wife all the sisters of the first wife and even the mother-in-law, and so it is the common thing to be understood that when a man takes a woman, he has all her sisters too, so they live in polygamy, having many wives, without there appearing to be any sign of jealousy among them. As a rule the children of the younger sisters who may be the second or third wives are looked upon with just as much affection as one's own, and all live together in one house.

We have had occasion to baptize in this Mission three children born all of them within two months of one another, sons of the same pagan man and of three sisters who were his wives. Besides this he had to wife his mother-in-law. But God willed that this man should be converted as well as his four wives, so that he put them all away except the oldest of the sisters who had been his first wife, while the others who had been baptized, were married to other converted young men according to our Roman Ritual. With the help of this example, and with constant preaching and explanation, they are beginning to give up their plural wives and subject themselves to the Holy Catholic Faith. All those thus converted come to live in the Mission (town) within the sound of the bell, attending twice a day in the church, the recital of the Christian Doctrine, maintaining themselves in community from the harvests of wheat, corn, beans, etc. We have already harvests from our fruits such as peaches, apricots, pomegranates, brought out from Spain at the first and planted here. All those of the community are dressed from clothing which the Fathers have had sent out from Mexico at the expense of the Sindico and as gifts from private benefactions. It is worthy of notice, that while before baptism, they had no sense at all of shame, these feelings are immediately dominant in them as soon as baptism is received, so that if it is necessary to change the clothing because they have outgrown them, they hide themselves nor will they show themselves naked before any one, and much less before the Fathers. All I have here observed concerning the natives of this port and its vicinity is true of the people of the other Missions, with but very little difference, though the languages are quite distinct.

CHAPTER XLVI

Founding of the Mission of Santa Clara.

WHEN the Commander Don Fernando Rivera received the letter from His Excellency, the Viceroy, in the month of September of the year 1776, in which it was taken for granted that he had already founded the two Missions of the port of San Francisco, our Father, although he had not only not taken a single step in that direction but had detained at his side the soldiers which belonged rightfully to them, he was quite concerned, and immediately set out with the soldiers with the intention of carrying out the orders for the founding of the Missions. When he reached Monterey he heard that the Mission of our Father San Francisco was already founded. In order to help in the founding of the other, he came, with the Father Fr. Tomás de la Peña, one of the Missionaries assigned to it, to explore the region of the large plains called San Bernardino and came on across them till they reached the extreme point of the arm of the inland sea of the port of San Francisco, which extends to the southeast.

Here they found a large river with plenty of water, about three leagues from the head of the inlet, or arm of the sea, into which the river empties, and in the neighborhood they found several springs of water which could be made to serve for irrigating a good part of the fine lands of the plain, all of them populated with the villages of the gentiles, as well as with groves of giant oaks. It seemed to both the Commander and to Father Peña that the location was a very desirable one for a large mission. With this good news they came on to this Mission of Our Father [San Francisco], where they arrived on the 26th of November. When it had been agreed upon that in the spot described the Mission was to be founded, Father Fr. Tomás remained with us while the Commander went on to visit the new presidio, which he had not seen, and from there, on the 30th of November, he returned to Monterey in order to send on the troops, with whom was to come the Father Fr. Joseph Murguía, bringing the equipment which belonged to the Mission and which had been left at the Mission of San Carlos.

On the last days of December the troops arrived, with their families, and Father Fr. Tomás started out with the Lieutenant-Commander of the presidio and the other people in order to take part in the founding of the Mission on the 6th of January of the year 1777. On arriving at the spot which the explorers had chosen, and which is fifteen leagues distant from this Mission [San Francisco], to the southeast, they made there a Cross, which, when it had been blessed, they set up and venerated, and then, under a shelter of boughs, Father Peña said the first Mass on the 12th of January. A few days later his companion arrived, bringing with him the equipment for the Mission.

Very shortly the pagan people began to visit them and make them presents. By the month of May of the same year the first baptisms took place, for as there had come upon the people a great epidemic, the Fathers were able to perform a great many baptisms by simply going through the villages. In this way they succeeded in sending a great many children (which died almost as soon as they were baptized) to Heaven as the first fruits that they might ask of God the conversion of their relatives and tribesmen. This latter work is now being accomplished and many are being saved. Our President, before he died, saw here in this Mission alone six hundred and sixty-nine. The work of teaching the catechism has gone on without interruption and the number of Christians has steadily increased.

This Mission, we may say, occupies the best site of any of the acquired territory, as it was founded in the great plains of San Bernardino, which extend for more than thirty leagues and are from one to three, four and five leagues wide. It has splendid lands for planting, and harvests fine crops of wheat and corn, as well as all sorts of vegetables, not only for the maintenance of the converts, but there is a surplus to give to the pagans in order to attract them to the fold of the Holy Church, and also to provide the troops at the presidio in return for cloth with which to clothe the converts. There is an abundance of water, not only from the river of Our Lady of Guadalupe, which is about a quarter of a league from the Mission, from which, in the summer time, fine trout can be obtained. I have seen one weighing four pounds. I ate of it and it tasted like salmon-trout, very delicious. Besides the abundance of water in the river, there are several springs which fill the ditches made to carry the water to the fields for irrigation. A goodly supply of fruit has been obtained from as many of the seeds as were brought from Spain and were planted, as all the pits and seeds which were brought out at the first have thrived, even the grape.

This wide plain has many bunches of groves or forests of oak which have abundant acorns and which the natives eat, mixing them with the grass-seeds from the field, as we have described in connection with the people of the Mission of San Francisco. They also bring in the hazel nuts from the hills to the west, about three leagues distant from the Mission, but they do not have there the strawberries nor the shellfish and mussels, as they are too far from the beach. Neither do they have any other fish than the trout, and these are not abundant. The natives are of the same language as those of the Port, with one or two very slight differences. They also have the same customs, as they are only fifteen leagues distant and twenty-six leagues from Monterey, and only two leagues from the upper end of the inlet. To the westward the Pacific Ocean is twelve leagues away, over the mountains, which are all populated with Indians, while down on the coast, in front of this Mission, will be found the New Year's Point [Punta de Anos Nueva] which, together with that of the Point of the Pines [Point Pinos], forms the great bay of the port of Monterey.

The plains of San Bernardino are well inhabited with the villages of the gentiles, and many of them attend the Mission of Santa Clara, both men and women, especially in the time of the harvests, because there is plenty to eat and to carry back to their villages. On one of these occasions the Father Missionaries of the Mission noticed that among the gentile women (who always worked separately and without mixing with the men) there was one who, by the dress, which was decorously worn, and by the heathen headdress and ornaments displayed, as well as in the manner of working, of sitting, etc., had all the appearances of a woman, but judging by the face and the absence of breasts, though old enough for that, they concluded he must be a man, so they asked some of the converts. They said that it was a man, but that he passed himself off always for a woman and always went with them and not with the men, and that it was not good that he should be found there.

As the Fathers judged there was some trickery about it they decided to investigate. Making use of the corporal of the guard and charging him that he should keep his eye on the individual, and on some pretext or other take him into the guard-house, and if they found that he was a man to take off his woman's clothing and to leave him with the gentile clothing, which is the same as that which Adam had in the garden before he sinned. This the corporal did and on taking off his aprons they found that he was more ashamed than if he really had been a woman. They kept him there three days, making him sweep the plaza, but giving him plenty to eat. But he remained very cast down and ashamed. After he had been warned that it was not right for him to go about dressed as a woman and much less thrust himself in with them, as it was presumed that he was sinning with them, they let him go. He immediately left the Mission and never came back to it, but from the converts it was learned that he was still in the villages of the gentiles and going about as before, dressed as a woman. But it was impossible to find out what the reason for it was, as the only thing that could be gotten out of the neophytes was that it was not good to do that.

But in the Mission of San Antonio the whole facts were obtained. The Fathers were advised one day that two of the gentiles had gone into one of the houses, one of them having the dress of a woman, and the other in the way the men always go about. They used the expression, to describe the one dressed as a woman, of Coia (this is the pronunciation of the Indian word). The Father Missionary with the corporal and a soldier went immediately to the house to see what they were looking for, and they found them in the act of defiling themselves one with the other. They punished them both, though not as severely as they deserved, and tried to show them what an ugly sin they were committing. The gentile replied that the other man was his *Coia*, or his wife. After the punishment they received, they were not seen again in the Mission, nor in any place near by, nor have any such execrable people been found since in any of the Missions. Only they say that in the stretch of land along the Channel of Santa Barbara there are to be found many *Coias*, and that it is rarely you can find a village where there are not two or three. But we trust in God that as the country is gradually being filled with the Missions, these detestable people will be eradicated and that this most abominable of vices will be exterminated, and in its stead will be planted the Catholic faith, and with it all the other virtues, for the greater glory of God and for the better welfare of these poor degraded people.

CHAPTER XLVII

The Venerable Father Visits the Missions of the North and Founds a Town of Spaniards.

WE have related in Chapter XLIII how when the Venerable Father President arrived at his Mission of San Carlos in the month of January, 1777, he heard the good news of the founding of these, the two most northerly Missions and the port of our Father San Francisco. He immediately wished to visit them, seeing that he had not been able to be present at their founding, but he was delayed in this matter by the news that the Governor, Don Felipe Neve, was coming up to establish his residence in the presidio of Monterey, where indeed he arrived on the 3d of February, 1777. Owing to this and the necessity of treating with him concerning the business of the Spiritual Conquest in which it was necessary to compare the orders which each had received from His Excellency, the Viceroy, for its development, he found it necessary to remain in the Mission of San Carlos until this officer had concluded his visit and had himself come up to the presidio of San Francisco, which he did in the latter part of April.

On his return from this visit they were both agreed as to the importance of the founding of the three Missions in the Channel of Santa Barbara for the subjection of that large body of pagans, as well as for the populating of the region, in order to assure the means of communication through this country between the settlements of the North and the South. When they had come to an agreement they both consulted His Excellency by letter in June of 1777, which was sent by the frigate which had brought out provisions and documents and which was returning to San Blas.

When these important official matters had been properly attended to without having neglected at any time his Apostolic ministry of catechizing and baptizing the gentiles and instructing the converts, a work in which he was constantly employed while residing in the Mission, and as soon as he found himself at liberty to make the visit, he came to the Mission of Santa Clara, where he arrived on the 28th of September.

The next day, being a Feast Day in honor of the Prince and Archangel St. Michael, he sang Mass and preached a sermon. He remained another day, in which he rested somewhat, and then went on to this last Mission of Our Father [San Francisco], arriving on the 1st of October. As it is a day's journey of fifteen leagues, which he covered only by traveling until into the night, he arrived here very much fatigued.

He was with us at the celebration of Our Holy Father San Francisco, Patron of the Mission, helping in the special solemn services both in the presidio and port. He sang High Mass and preached the sermon, greatly to the delight of all, both Missionaries (of whom there were four of us) as well as of the troops of the Mission and of the presidio, the latter having come over to join us. His presence was also a source of joy to the new Christians who already numbered seventeen, all of them adults.

He remained in this Mission until the 10th of October, during which time he rested from his long journey of forty-two leagues. He went to see the new presidio and also the port, which he had never seen, and arriving at the headland and noticing that it was impossible to go farther without the aid of a ship, he burst forth with the following expression of thanksgiving (one which was frequently on his lips): "Our Father San Francisco has now conducted this procession of Missions, headed by the Holy Cross, until he has arrived at the extreme end of the continent of California, for to go further it is necessary to do so by ship."

When the Venerable Father President made this first visit to this Mission, there were in New California only eight Missions, with great stretches between them, so that our earnest Father was accustomed to say: "This procession of Missions is very incomplete, and it is necessary that it should be made more sightly in the eyes of God and men by filling in the breaks. I have already asked for the founding of three Missions in the Channel of Santa Barbara. Help me to ask God to give us these and afterward we will work to fill up the other empty spaces." From this it can be seen that it was the most ardent desire of the Venerable Prelate that all the pagan people which populate two hundred and ten leagues of coast should be converted, and that through the sustaining of the Missions at the proper distances they should all come to fall into the Apostolic net, if not in one Mission, then in another, so that in this way the children of God and the Holy Church should be greatly increased. It was with these fervent and ardent desires that he left our Mission, went on to that of Santa Clara, where he rested a couple of days and then returned to his Mission at San Carlos.

FOUNDING OF A TOWN OF SPANIARDS CALLED SAN JOSÉ DE GUADALUPÉ (SAINT JOSEPH OF GUADALUPE)

In order properly to develop and establish this Spiritual Conquest His Excellency, the Viceroy, had charged the new Governor, Don Felipe de Neve, to attempt the occupying of the land with some colonies of Spanish people, who would give themselves to the labor of the fields and to the breeding of cattle and other animals in order that they might serve as a sort of guarantee for the stability of these new possessions. Having in mind these orders from his superior and having observed, during his visit to the royal presidio of this port, the immense plain in which is situated the Mission of Santa Clara and the unlimited amount of land which could be irrigated with the abundance of water from the river called Our Lady of Guadalupe, he called together the colonists who had come with the expedition from Sonora, and adding to it others, he assigned them lands which were distributed so as to form a town under the name of San José of Guadalupe, the place selected being a little above the Santa Clara Mission but on the other side of the river (which is also called Guadalupe) about three-quarters of a league distant.

On this site the colonists formed their town, beginning it in the first part of November of the year 1777. To the number others have since been added, and a government has been established by the election of an *alcalde*, the whole government being subject to the Governor of the Province and defended by an escort of three soldiers and a corporal. They all come to the Mission to hear Mass. They support themselves very well from their harvests of wheat, corn and beans, and with what they have left over and which they sell to the troop they provide themselves with clothing. They also have plenty of cattle and herds of sheep and goats and from the herds of mares they provide horses for the soldiers.

CHAPTER XLVIII

The Venerable Father Junípero is Granted the Apostolic Faculty to Confirm. He Exercises It in His Own Mission and Sets Out for the Missions in the South to Do the Same There.

WHEN the Venerable Father President, Fr. Junípero, arrived in California with his fifteen companions in the year 1768, as has been told in Chapter XIII, on taking possession of those Missions which the Fathers of the Company of Jesus [the Jesuits] had administered, and on receiving the statements of their work, he found among these documents which the Fathers delivered to him the concession which Our Most Holy Father, Pope Benedict XIV, had given them, granting the power to Confirm, in view of the great difficulty in having any Bishop cross over into California for this purpose. As our Venerable Prelate considered that the same difficulty obtained here, he keenly felt the need of doing something to prevent the converts from being deprived of this great benefit and that it was his duty to secure, if possible, the granting of the same concession. He therefore wrote to the Reverend Father Guardian, sending to him the bull of Pope Benedict, in order that through the agency of the Reverend Father Prefect of Missions, the Apostolic See should be asked to grant the same concession, presenting in behalf of this the same reason which the Jesuit Fathers had adduced.

It may be that some one will say that the Reverend Father Junípero asked for this faculty, which is the peculiar and ordinary right of the Bishops, because he wished to obtain that high and honorable episcopal dignity. But in truth, instead of wishing for it or desiring it as a personal honor, his profound humility and most earnest desire to work in the Vineyard of the Lord had really forced him to use measures which had carried him quite away from such honors. When his Reverence had been told, after the Conquest and establishment of the Mission in Monterey, that a courtier of the Palace of Madrid had written a letter to the then Reverend Guardian of our College, the Reverend Father Verger, now Bishop of Nuevo Leon, saying that *a great honor was about* *to be conferred upon the Reverend Father Junípero*, his Reverence, as soon as he heard this word, fearing that he might possibly lose before God the reward for which he had labored so hard in this Spiritual Conquest in exchange for the worldly recompense of this outward honor which had been prognosticated as coming to him, immediately made it his purpose (I was going to say, made a vow, as perhaps that is what he did, for he did not explain the matter to me very clearly) not to accept any office (at least, while in the enjoyment of his liberty) which would hinder him in any way from going on with his Apostolic Ministry, living among the gentiles and of shedding his blood, if such were the will of God, in order to bring about their conversion.

The humble Father was not satisfied even with this, but he tried by all the means in his power to prevent the realization of that which he feared and this he did, in view of his spirit of caution, by not writing to any one who might have had to do with the securing of such an honor and dignity. After the exploration and settlement of the ports of San Diego and Monterey he received a letter from Madrid from a person of rank in the Court, whom he had never known nor heard of before, but who wrote to him saying: "That he was very sure that his Reverence was very highly accredited to the King and his Royal Council; that he should like to know if there was anything he would like to have done; that he was ready to serve him if his Reverence wished to avail himself of his services and that he would be his faithful agent." His Reverence read the letter and not failing to interpret the insinuation it contained he replied that he could best serve him as *censor*, but not as *agent*.

From this it can plainly be seen that the Reverend Father Junípero did not desire any of the dignities and great honors which the courtier had prophesied for him, but that he did desire with all his heart that the right to confirm might be granted, not necessarily for himself, but for any one of the Missionaries, in order that going about among the Missions he might confirm the converts and so they would no longer be deprived of this great spiritual benefit which comes from the receiving of this Sacred Sacrament.

The petition was given course in the Roman Curia by the Reverend Father Prefect, and His Holiness, Our Most Holy Father, Pope Clement XIV, deigned to grant the concession on the 16th day of July, 1774, for a period of ten years, to the Reverend Father Prefect of Missions, and to one of the friars in each one of the four Colleges, the same to be named by the Father Prefect. This concession having been granted, it was presented to the Royal Council of Madrid and there ratified, and then passed on to His Excellency, the Viceroy, and the royal *audiencia* in Mexico City. From them it came to the hands of the Reverend Father Prefect who appointed as representative of the Missions of the College of San Fernando, the Reverend Fr. Junípero Serra, President of these Missions and his successor, the same being authorized by seal and countersign from the Secretaryship of the College, on the 17th of October, 1777. The document arrived in the hands of his Reverence the latter part of June, 1778.

As soon as the Venerable Father Junípero received this Patent, giving him the Apostolic faculty to Confirm, and as soon as he had made himself familiar with the instructions of the Sacred Congregation for its use, he immediately proceeded to put it into effect and so, on the first holy day after its receipt, which was the day of the Holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, after having sung High Mass and pronounced a fervent sermon on the theme of the Holy Sacrament of Confirmation, he made beginning in his own Mission of San Carlos by confirming the children whom he had been preparing, while instructing and preparing the adults for the same. In this exercise and in the confirming of those who were ready he was busy until the 25th of August, when he embarked on the frigate which had brought out the letters and provisions, and he went down to San Diego in order to accomplish the same thing in that Mission and in the other Missions of the South.

He arrived in San Diego on the 15th of September, after twenty-three days' sail, which was longer than usual, on account of contrary winds. He remained at the Mission of San Diego until the 8th of October, confirming in the meantime the converted Indians and the children of the troopers, who had not received this Sacrament. When this was done he started northward, going from Mission to Mission and performing the same service, arriving on the 5th of January, 1779, at his own Mission of San Carlos, loaded down with good works and many labors, which had made him suffer more than usual on the long journey on account of the incurable malady in his foot from which he had felt no alleviation.

CHAPTER XLIX

He Continues Confirming in His Own Mission. He Receives Word of the New Mexican Government. He Comes to Visit and to Confirm in These Missions of the North, Where He Received Word of the Death of the Viceroy, Bucareli.

THE Venerable Father Serra's return to his Mission of San Carlos, which ought to have served him as a place of rest, was always a stimulus to greater Apostolic activity, for he immediately took up the task of instructing the gentiles, and as soon as they were sufficiently prepared, to baptize them; and then prepare the neophytes in order to confirm them. So it was that in these sacred duties he was continually occupied while at the Mission, and always when he returned, after seeing the work elsewhere, it seemed to him that his own work was slothful and lukewarm, for he would often say: "I have been much edified by the work which the others are doing and have done. We are ourselves always a little behind the others."

He was engaged in these daily exercises when the frigate arrived, in the month of June of the year 1779, bringing provisions and letters, and the news that the government of His Excellency, the Viceroy of New Spain, had seen fit to separate all the interior provinces, including those of California, and His Majesty had appointed as Commander and Governor-General, Don Teodoro de Croix, who was to have his residence in the Province of Sonora and to whom all matters were hereafter to be referred as the Superior Government for these interior provinces of New Spain.

This unexpected news, on reaching these settlements, could not help causing his Reverence great concern and regret (although he was as ever completely resigned to the will of God, in whom he put all his trust). He could not help thinking that while the new Governor was taking over the office and putting his commandance in order, and becoming acquainted with the many matters which would be placed in his charge, there would be a delay in carrying out the plans already made for these settlements, and principally those affecting the new Missions in the

Channel [of Santa Barbara] which since the preceding year, in accord with the wishes of the Governor, he had asked of His Excellency, the Viceroy. He was especially anxious about these because they had been the places in which there would most likely be a delay, as they would cease to be under the special care of His Excellency. But the great affection which His Excellency, Viceroy Bucareli, had come to feel for the Venerable Father Junípero, and the large thought which he had expended upon these spiritual projects, were such that he was not likely soon to forget them, and he immediately recommended to the new Commander that he carry out the plans, as is shown in the letter said Commander wrote to his Reverence before arriving at his new position, as will be seen in the copy here transcribed.

COPY OF THE LETTER OF THE COMMANDER-GENERAL

The reports from His Excellency and the contents of the letters which your Reverence has sent to him convince me of your activity and zeal, your piety and prudence in the government of these Missions and in the treatment of the Indians inspired by your earnest desire for their true happiness. Just at present I cannot grant the assistance which your Reverence asks for, for the reasons which I have presented to the Commander of that province, but I hope that very shortly I shall be in a position to satisfy your zeal, and to work indefatigably for the welfare of these settlements. To this same end I trust that your Reverence will contribute all possible assistance not only by your most praiseworthy conduct but by your wise suggestions. Your Reverence will find in me all that you can desire for the work of the Propagation of the Faith and the Glory of Our Religion, and I beg you to ask that all the Friars continue to supplicate God for the prosperity and the success of these important commissions under my charge, even as I pray for the health of your Reverence and that God will keep you many years. Querétaro, 15th of August, 1777. Knight de Croix. To the Very Reverend Father President Fr. Junípero Serra.

This letter, which was somewhat delayed in coming to hand, in no small degree mitigated the pain which the Venerable Father President felt in his heart. He considered the delay as explained by the change of government to a point so far distant from Mexico City, and also due to the fact that in the new place of residence of the Governor-General there was no one to give warmth to the affairs of the Order as there had been in the College in Mexico. These considerations made him more earnest in his prayers to God that He take these matters into His own hands. He was also hindered by the bad state of the sore in his leg, which did not allow him to come to these Missions of the North to make

Confirmations until October, but when he did come he found here in the port the frigates which had returned from the exploration voyage far up the northern coast, of which we have spoken in Chapter XXXVII.

The officers of these two frigates, as well as the Commander of the Expedition (who had become acquainted with him in Monterey) were desirous of seeing him, but as he had written that on account of ill-health he did not think he would be able to make the journey, these gentlemen decided to make it themselves, Commander Ignacio Arteaga sending the two Captains, his second, Don Fernando Quiros and Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra, simply for the purpose of visiting his Reverence and taking with them one of the royal surgeons of the Squadron, in order to give him medical treatment. I improved this occasion and accompanied the gentlemen, as I was desirous of seeing my beloved teacher. We arrived on the 11th of October at the Mission of Santa Clara, and at the very same hour the Venerable Father Junípero also arrived. He had suddenly resolved to visit these Missions in order to make Confirmations and at the same time see the gentlemen of the expedition, ignoring his malady and putting all his trust in God. But he arrived so badly fatigued that he could hardly stand, as in two days he had traveled twenty-seven leagues; and when the officers and the surgeon saw his foot with the ulcer, they said it was just a miracle that he had been able to walk. But he had indeed made that journey, and it filled us all with joy and astonishment that he should arrive at the very hour in which we did, his Reverence coming from the South and we from the North without previous notice on the part of either. The officers were very profuse in their expressions of pleasure at seeing his Reverence and presented the compliments and regards of the Commander.

The next day when the surgeon offered to apply some remedy to his foot, his Reverence said that it would be better to wait till we had reached the Port of Our Father St. Francis, fearing that it might make it worse for the present and prevent his making the journey. So he went on, on foot, traveling as if he had nothing the matter with him. And what filled them most with wonderment was that he immediately began to baptize some catechumens, for whom he invited the officers to act as god-parents. They were astonished that he was able to stand up during the service, as the Captains said they themselves became tired of standing, though they were deeply moved at the tenderness with which his Reverence performed the holy ritual of the Baptism for Adults.

We remained two days in the Mission and on the 14th we left for this Mission of Our Father St. Francis, spending a day and a half on the way in making the fifteen leagues, arriving on the 15th. His arrival was the occasion of great joy and rejoicing for all the people, both those of the land and those on shipboard. He gave his thanks to the Commander-General for having so kindly sent the officers, and he also congratulated him on the success of his expedition. "I do not know," he said, "how I can return your kindness. I should be glad to confirm as many of the people on shipboard as may desire it and you may order them to prepare for it." This he did, and on the 21st of the same month of October, after saying Mass and preaching the sermon on the Sacred Sacrament of Confirmation, he administered the rite to both the Spaniards and the Indians, and to those of the crew who had not been confirmed. He continued this work of Confirmation three days more, until all had received the rite. He baptized twelve gentiles, inviting the officers to act as god-fathers. They thanked him heartily for the privilege and then he proceeded to confirm the new converts as well as the three recently baptized converts brought from the port of Bucareli.

These Holy Exercises so absorbed his Reverence that he thought no more of his malady; but the surgeons had not overlooked it. When they wanted him to put himself under their care, he excused himself saying that after having rested he felt better, that the disease had become chronic with the years, and that it would require a long treatment, which was not easy as he could only remain a few days, so it would be useless to begin a cure, as it would really be better to leave the matter in the hands of the Divine Physician.

When his Reverence had been here nine days, a courier arrived at the Mission, coming by land from Old California, bringing the sad news of the death of His Excellency, the Viceroy Bucareli, and the other news of the breaking out of war with England. This news caused great sadness to all, as it meant the loss of a very zealous friend in the Viceroy, and as the other news of war was added, the officers felt it their duty to proceed as soon as possible to San Blas. They got ready and sailed from this port on the last day of October, leaving the Venerable Father President with us in the Mission. He felt the more keenly the death of his great benefactor and advocate in this Spiritual Conquest, the Viceroy

Bucareli, in that he considered that, while the Commandancy was no longer directly under the Viceregency, but under the Commandancy of the Province, he would have had a great support in his continuance in the Regency, as he would have helped to overcome the many delays that might occur. It was under this new burden of anxiety (though always with trust in God) that the Venerable Father President left us on the 6th of November, after having confirmed all the neophytes here. He did the same in the Mission of Santa Clara, where he remained a few days to make Confirmations among both the neophytes as well as among the troops and the people of the colony of San José de Guadalupe, and, with the merit of this labor, and somewhat relieved from his sore foot, he retired to his Mission of San Carlos.

CHAPTER L

The Governor of the Province Raises Difficulty in Regard to the Authority to Confirm, and by Having Recourse to His Official Authority Forbids It. The Matter is Decided in Favor of Father Junípero's Rights Being Sustained. The Father Returns to Give Confirmations in These Missions of the North. On His Return His Beloved Companion and Pupil, Fr. Juan Crespi, Dies.

HIS Reverence Father Junípero was not mistaken in fearing that these settlements would sadly miss even the shadow of His Excellency, Viceroy Bucareli, and how much more his authority in the government. As soon as this Province was no longer under his charge, it began to suffer from the effects of orders and dispositions which not only hindered its development, but were destructive of the things already gained and established. The Venerable Father tried with all prudence and patience to present to the author of these hindrances (who was no other than the Governor of the Province, whom His Excellency, Viceroy Bucareli, had sent out especially to develop and stimulate this Spiritual Conquest) all the reasons which his long practice and high skill dictated, in order to hold back the giving of orders which were destined to bring fatal consequences to all that had been gained in the subjugation of the territory.

But all these efficient reasons which he continued to present seemed to have so little power to convince and restrain him that he rather seemed to delight in hatching out new schemes and projects which would hinder the progress of the Missions already founded, though they were showing proof of vigorous and steady increase in both temporal and spiritual things. All these means of which the Enemy availed himself to mortify the fervent Prelate he endured with great patience and wonderful calm, in spite of the fact that they cut him to the heart and were more grievous to him than all the arrows which the most barbarous and ferocious of pagans might have discharged against him. Leaving out many instances which might be cited to prove the above assertion, I will mention one only, and this only in order to connect the thread of my story, and that the reader may understand why, during the year 1780, the Venerable Father President did not visit the Missions in the performance of his duties of Confirmation, and so not attribute the omission to mere neglect on my part.

The difficulty which the Governor presented was as to the authority to confirm, because he did not have at hand the Patent of the Royal Concession, nor the Concession of the Viceroy. To this his Reverence replied that he did have it, that the Patent had passed through the Royal Council in Madrid and had been sanctioned in Mexico City by His Excellency and the Royal Audiencia, that for over a year he had been exercising the functions granted by it without having the slightest doubt as to the genuineness of the permission granted. When asked to show the Patent and the other documents concerning the granting of the right, he replied that the original had remained in the archives of the Reverend Father Prefect, that the necessary instrument which gave him authorization was the Patent which had been signed, sealed and countersigned by the Secretary. In order to prove to him that he had received the permit from His Excellency and, therefore from the Royal Council, he asked him to read the letter which His Excellency Viceroy Bucareli had sent him (and which he put in his hands), and in which he congratulated him on his being granted the authority to confirm, and in virtue of which he had confirmed a great many during the previous year.

The Governor answered that that permit was of no value now as these Interior Provinces no longer belonged to the Viceroy, but were under the direction of the Commander-General. "Well, then," he asked, "who is the Vice-Patrono?" On his replying that for these Provinces it was the Commander-General, and for these Californias, himself who acted as Governor, the fervent Prelate said: "In that case, if the authorities are at hand, the matter is easily remedied. Here you have the Patent assigning me the right to confirm. I pray you affix your permit to this document in order that these poor people may not be deprived of a great good. Inasmuch as the authorization is for only ten years, it will soon expire." To this proposition (as he was intent on carrying out his purpose) he replied that the place where the permit should appear was at the foot of the Pontifical Brief which His Holiness had granted, and at the foot of the Original Permit granted by the Council, and as he did not have at hand these originals, the Governor advised him not to continue in the work of Confirmation until a reply had come from the Commander-General whom he had consulted in the matter.

I leave to the consideration of the reader what must have been the distress which this decision brought to the fervent heart of our Venerable Father, who understood so well the great spiritual value which this Holy Sacrament had for these people who were still so young in the faith; but, putting himself in God's hands, he suspended the work of Confirmation, fearing that he might also be deprived of the right to baptize. We are not to believe that the Governor did this through malice, but as he had no advisor near he acted according to his best judgment, presuming that this was what he ought to do. In view of all that has been said, the Father not only suspended the work of Confirmation but he also remitted the Patent and Authorization to the College, explaining by letter all that had taken place between him and the Governor. As soon as the Reverend Father Guardian received the letters he had an interview with the new Viceroy and asked him for a copy of the permit which had been appended to the Pontifical Brief. When this had been sent to the Commander-General, the latter immediately sent orders to the Governor instructing him that he was in no wise to hinder the Reverend Father President in his work of Confirmation, but that whenever his Reverence wished to make a visit to any of the Missions that he provide him with a military escort. In this way the storm ceased; but others followed, nor did the contrary winds cease to blow as long as he lived, in order that the martyrdom which he desired might be a bloodless one.

During all the time that this matter remained undecided, which was prolonged on account of the great distance from Mexico to Sonora and from Sonora on to Monterey, he did not confirm any one nor did he leave his Mission, but occupied himself with his round of ordinary exercises, finding consolation in the many pagan people who kept coming in even from long distances and asking for Holy Baptism, so that he was constantly occupied in the work of instruction and preparation for baptism, and so having a part in augmenting the number of children belonging to Our Holy Church in spite of hell.

During the month of September of the year 1781, in which the decision arrived, after having celebrated the Confirmations in his own Mission, he set out to perform the same duties in that of San Antonio, returning in the first days of October to celebrate the Feast of our Holy Father in his Mission of San Carlos. After this Saint's Day was over he decided to go to the two Missions of the north in order to confirm the believers there. His disciple, Fr. Juan Crespi, offered to go with him as he was desirous of seeing this port now populated with Christians, since he had not seen it since the year 1769, when it was populated with pagans. They arrived at this Mission on the 26th of October, bringing to me extraordinary joy and delight because I saw at my own door both my beloved master and teacher and my dear fellow-disciple, Fr. Juan Crespi, who, in view of what afterwards happened, seems to have come in order to bid me good-bye until eternity. They remained at this Mission until the 9th of November, in which time the Venerable Father President performed all the Confirmations necessary among the converts who had been baptized in the interval since his last visit.

They left on that day for the Mission of Santa Clara, filling my heart with grief, and theirs also, as the pain of saying good-bye was quite as great as the joy with which I had welcomed them on their arrival. The Venerable Father President confirmed all the converts in that Mission and then returned to his own Mission before the rivers should rise. A few days after reaching home Father Crespi was taken seriously ill, and realizing that God was calling him to the other world, he prepared himself to receive the Holy Sacraments and on the 1st day of January, 1782, he delivered his soul to his Maker, at the age of sixty years and ten months. He had worked thirty years in the Missions among the pagans; that is, sixteen years in the Mission of our Holy Father San Francisco, in the Valley of Tilaco, among the Pame Indians of the Sierra Gorda where he had tried to imitate his beloved master and teacher, the Venerable Father Junípero, laboring both in spiritual and in temporal things, baptizing many hundreds of Indians and educating them in the Mysteries of Our Holy Faith, and at the same time engaged in secular labor in order to civilize them that they might have wherewithal to eat and to wear. He constructed for them a large stone church with its *bovedas* [arched roof of masonry] and tower. He had sent out, on account of his stipend from Mexico, the collateral pillars and the sacred images for the interior decoration, all of which he obtained to his own satisfaction and left that Mission in the Sierra Gorda in good condition. Just as he was about to deliver this work to the secular clergy he was named by the Reverend Father Guardian and the Venerable Council of the College to come to these Californias. As soon as he received the letter from the College he started out with great joy and hopes for the port of San Blas in company with four other companions, without stopping to visit the College and say good-bye, as there was need that they arrive at the port as soon as possible.

The rest of his life, which was a period of fourteen years, he spent in these Californias, working without ceasing, as has already been indicated in this narrative, as he had part in many different journeys with the first land expeditions which came out, as we have already told; and if the curious reader wishes to know what things he did and suffered in order to bring about this Conquest he has only to read the diaries which this Father wrote while on the road and while resting in the camps at night, as well as the account of the sea expedition made in order to explore the coasts of this Pacific Ocean and which had been the first expedition to reach as far north as latitude 55° along an unknown coast where they were in continual danger of being wrecked by striking upon some island, headland, or sunken reef. But in all these dangers God delivered him and permitted him to work in this His Mystic Vineyard, helping his Venerable and Exemplary Master who, from the time of his arrival at Monterey, had appointed him to be his companion and co-pastor in the Mission of San Carlos, where he worked from the time of its founding until the time of his death, instructing and baptizing innumerable pagans as we have already recounted in connection with the work of that Mission. With this abundance of merit and the exercise of virtue in which he had always excelled from a child when I first knew him and when we studied together our primer lessons, until we had finished theology and ethics, I knew him to be always most exemplary. He was known among his fellow-disciples by the name of "Devout" or "Mystic," and he continued in the same way throughout all his life, notable for his unsullied purity and his deep humility, as was shown by many incidents in which, when a student, if at any time he thought he had offended any one of his fellow-students, he would go to his cell and there throwing himself upon his knees, would ask for pardon. As he had not a good memory and was not able to repeat the doctrinal sermons after the first gospel of the principal Mass on Sundays and Feast Days, by memory, he used to take the book and would read one of the doctrinal sermons and in this way instruct the people, and all were much edified by his humility. Being thus adorned by this and other virtues and crowned with the reward for the great labor which he had accomplished for the conversion of the gentiles, God called him, in order to give him the reward of his Apostolic labors and fatigues. After being carefully prepared with the help of all the Sacraments which the Venerable Father Junípero administered, and also spiritually sustained by his Reverence, he delivered up his soul to his Creator. And we who knew him and loved him so well do piously believe that he must have gone straight to the enjoyment of God. Father Junípero had him buried in the presbytery at the gospel side of the altar in his own church of the Mission of San Carlos. Two other Missionary Fathers took part in the funeral service, after having given him all due honors, and the Commander of the presidio was also present with all the troops from that place and from the Mission, as well as all the converted Christians, whose lamentations eloquently expressed the love which they had for him as their Father. This love the Venerable Father Junípero also expressed to me later when, just before he died, he requested that he be given burial by the side of his beloved disciple and companion, Father Juan Crespi, and in this way he indicated not only his great love for him but the very high esteem in which he held him in view of his blameless life and model virtues.

I have not wished to omit this brief reference to the life of Father Juan Crespi, not simply because he was my own beloved fellow-disciple and companion for more than forty years, both in the Mother Province as well as in the Apostolic ministry, but also that that Province which was his holy Mother might not forget to commend him to God in case he should have need of her prayers in order to obtain in heaven the reward for his Apostolic labors.

CHAPTER LI

The Settlements of the Channel of Santa Barbara. The Founding of a Town of Spaniards, and of the Mission of San Buenaventura and of the Presidio of Santa Barbara. The Sad Events on the Colorado River.

THE new Commander-General, Theodore de Croix, was so much impressed by the recommendation of His Excellency, the Viceroy, concerning the request of the Venerable Father Junípero for the founding of two Missions on the Santa Barbara Channel, that from some point on the road before arriving at his destination, he dispatched an order to the Governor, instructing him to send Capt. Fernando Rivera to Arispe, commissioning him to recruit there seventy-five soldiers for the founding of a presidio and three Missions in the above mentioned Santa Barbara Channel; the presidio and one Mission located in the center of the Channel with the name of that saint, the other two to be dedicated, one to the Immaculate Conception of Mary Most Holy, and the other to San Buenaventura, the same to occupy the two extremes of the Channel and each to be guarded by a squad of fifteen soldiers, the rest to be stationed at the presidio with their corresponding officers. He also instructed him to recruit families of colonists in order to found a town which was to be called Nuestra Señora de los Angeles [Our Lady of the Angels] on the river named Porciuncula.

At the same time he ordered that the Fathers of the College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro should found two Missions on the Colorado River, not only to bring about the conversion of those pagans but also to make sure the path through that country which had been discovered in order to keep up communications between the Lower and the Upper Provinces. But these Missions were founded on a plan entirely different from ours; that is to say, no presidio was built, but soldiers were stationed in each Mission and eight colonists with their families, a sergeant to have command in one Mission and an ensign in another. The Missionary Fathers were to have charge only of the spiritual work, the gentiles whom they might baptize were to continue living in the villages and to support themselves as they did before conversion. It was on this plan, so totally different from the one which we had followed here, that the Missions were established, but very shortly the difference in results were shown, as the Indians killed the Commander, the Sergeant and almost all of the soldiers and colonists, excepting a few who had hidden themselves and who, though their lives were spared, were reduced to slavery, together with all the women and children. The four Missionaries were martyred and the two Missions were burned up, with all that was in them, and so not only was everything lost, but this way of communication became closed. I have anticipated a little in giving this news in order to go on with my narrative.

As soon as the Governor received the order from the Commander-General he dispatched his Lieutenant, Capt. Rivera, for Old California, where he arrived, taking ship in Loreto and going on to the office of the Commander-General, there to receive all the orders and instructions necessary for the purpose and to proceed to carry out the commission. He began recruiting in the Province of Sinaloa, sending on the squads of recruits, both of soldiers and colonists, by sea to Loreto in order that they might go north by land to San Diego. Those he recruited in Sonora he himself conducted by way of the Colorado River, with all the horses and mules, which numbered more than a thousand head.

Capt. Rivera arrived, with all his expedition, at the Colorado River, where he found that the two Missions above described had been already founded. On noting that the horses and mules had arrived very thin and sick and fearing that they might die in the stretch of eighty leagues still remaining to be covered before reaching San Gabriel, whither they were to be sent, he decided to let them remain by the shores of this river until they could recuperate. Remaining behind with only one sergeant and six soldiers belonging to the guard of Monterey, whom the Governor had sent him, he ordered the expedition to go forward with the officers who had come from Sonora for these settlements, being convoyed by an Ensign and nine veteran soldiers from one of the presidios of Sonora.

The Governor had come down ahead as far as the Mission of San Gabriel, where he had attended to the receiving of the troops which had been sent north by land from Old California, and there he also received this last detachment which had come by way of the Colorado River, so that he had together there all of the troops with the two Lieutenants and two Ensigns, there being lacking only Capt. Rivera, the sergeant and the six soldiers, which had been sent him in order to come on later as soon as the horses had recuperated. He therefore dispatched the Ensign with the nine veteran soldiers, ordering them to return to the presidio of Sonora by the same road which the expedition had traveled through the Colorado River pass.

The Ensign set out with his little squad of nine men, but long before he reached the river he understood from the pagans who met him on the road that the river Indians had killed the Fathers and the soldiers and had burned the two Mission houses. The Ensign, who was a man of courage, did not at first believe the Indians, nor did he want to turn back on account of what they said, but he went on and arrived at the place where he saw that it was all true, for he found all the buildings reduced to ashes and the bodies strewn about. Not finding any one whom he could question, but a great horde of pagans against whom he had to fight, and seeing that he had so few men at his disposal, as two of his soldiers had been killed and another had been wounded, he decided it was wise to return to San Gabriel, which he succeeded in doing in spite of the fact that during the first two days' journey he had to carry on a continual fight with the Indians who followed him and who did their best to prevent any one of his command ever escaping to tell the tale. With God's help he was delivered and arrived at San Gabriel with no further disaster than the death of the two soldiers, and the wounding of another, who afterwards recovered. He gave an account of all he had seen and of what had happened to the Governor, and the latter reported the same to the Commander-General, dispatching as his courier the same Ensign with the seven soldiers which had remained of those sent from Old California, with orders that he embark in Loreto, and that he should not stop until he had put the letters in the hands of the Commander-General, who was at the time in the city of Arispe and whom he presumed was still ignorant of what had happened.

This sad event delayed somewhat the founding of the settlements of the Channel of Santa Barbara because the Governor either was afraid the colonists would not dare to come on to the settlements, or that, incited by the bad example, the Indian nations inhabiting the region between the Colorado River and these Missions might attack them. So he decided to remain with all the troops in the Mission of San Gabriel until he saw the results. In the meantime he ordered the founding of the Spanish town on the Porciuncula River, so called by the first expedition in the year 1769. He got together all the colonists who had come out for this purpose, and he assigned them lands and a townsite on the banks of the river about four leagues to the northwest of the Mission of San Gabriel, and there, under the guard of a corporal and three soldiers, they founded the town, in the last days of the year 1781, under the name of Our Lady of the Angels of Porciuncula.[23] Here the people occupied themselves with their crops in the same way as has been told of the people of San José, with this exception, that the people had to walk four leagues in order to hear Mass.

CHAPTER LII

Continuing the Narrative of the Channel Settlements and the Visit Made for This Purpose by the Venerable Father Junípero to San Gabriel. He Founds the Mission of San Buenaventura.

WHEN the Governor had waited a whole half-year after the fatal happenings on the Colorado River without seeing any sign of danger to these settlements in California, he ordered steps to be taken toward the foundation of the Missions, while waiting for the arrival of the vessel by which he expected the six Missionaries from our College to arrive, as he had been advised by letter, whom the Commander-General had asked to have sent out for this work through the mediation of His Excellency, the Viceroy. As they could not now delay much longer he decided to take the first steps toward the founding of the Mission, and so wrote, in February of the year 1782, to the Reverend Father President, asking him for two Missionaries, one to begin the work in the Mission of San Buenaventura and the other in that of Santa Barbara.

The Venerable Father President was at the time in his Mission of San Carlos, engaged in his ordinary duties. On receipt of the letter, from which he understood that the arrival of the six Missionaries named was assured, as their names were also given in the letter, and moved by the greatest desire to see these Missions established, he cast about among the few laborers which were to be had, of whom only one was not regularly assigned and who was at the Mission of Monterey, his duties being to take the place of his Reverence when the latter was making visits. In the Mission of San Diego there was also one extra Missionary, my dear companion, Fr. Pedro Benito Cambon, who had a little before arrived from a prolonged voyage which it had been necessary to make to the Philippine Islands, being set on shore here the previous December by his ship on account of sickness. He was convalescing at this time in the Mission of San Diego. Trusting that he would have recovered his strength sufficiently to act in this service, the Prelate wrote to him to encourage him and request him to come on to the Mission of San

Gabriel where he would see him, which he did and which I will tell about afterward.

His Reverence did not wish to lose the merit of these labors, both as to the road he must travel and the founding of the Missions which he anticipated. Leaving his helper to take his place in the Mission of Monterey, and with no further provision than he ordinarily took on going out to make visits, he started for San Gabriel. His ardent zeal and his immense desire to see the increase in the number of the sons of God gathered into Holy Church made him forget his own personal maladies. On his way south he confirmed all the neophytes who had been baptized since his previous visit in the two Missions of San Luis Obispo and San Antonio. He passed along by the Santa Barbara Channel, rejoicing to see there so many people of the pagans upon whom was about to dawn the light of Our Holy Faith. He tried to win their favor and show them kindness, giving them to understand that he would shortly return, but this time not simply as a visitor but to live among them. This news seemed to please them greatly.

On the 18th of March and late at night he arrived at the new town of Our Lady of the Angels [Los Angeles] and there he passed the night, leaving early the next morning for the Mission of San Gabriel, which was four leagues distant. His Reverence told me afterward that the distance seemed to him much greater, either because he had not eaten or because of his great desire to arrive. He found the Father Missionaries in good health and with them Father Cambon, already much better and able to go to work, which news gave him great joy. Leaving the usual salutations for afterwards, he ordered the bell to be rung for High Mass, which his Reverence celebrated and then delivered a very fervent sermon in honor of the Most Holy Patriarch, Saint Joseph, whose day it was, forgetting completely the weariness of the long journey of one hundred and thirty leagues from Monterey, and the four leagues traveled that very morning.

In the afternoon he paid a formal visit to the Governor, which was returned the following day, and in these interviews the question of the foundation of the Missions was considered. They resolved to found the Mission of San Buenaventura at the entrance to the Channel, where Father Cambon was to remain as provisional Missionary, and then they would pass on to the middle of the Channel, where they would found the presidio and Mission of Santa Barbara.

Although the devoted Father would have greatly preferred to celebrate Holy Week in the Mission, he had to content himself with his good intentions, for the departure of the expedition was announced for the 26th of March, which was Tuesday in Holy Week. During the six days which his Reverence was in the Mission of San Gabriel he was busy administering Confirmations, even up to the very day of their departure, as after saying Mass he confirmed the last ones, and then started out with the expedition, which was composed of a larger crowd of people than had ever been seen at any one of these settlements. For besides the troops belonging to the garrisons [presidios] of the three Missions, which was composed of seventy soldiers, with their Lieutenant-Captain-Commander for a new presidio, there were an Ensign, and three sergeants with their corresponding corporals. The Governor also went along with ten soldiers from the company of Monterey, each one having his wife and family, as nearly all of them were married men. There were also muleteers with their pack-animals loaded with provisions and utensils, and also the servants and a number of converted Indians who were to help in the work of building Only in the number of Fathers was the expedition deficient, as these were limited to the Reverend Father Junípero and Fr. Pedro Cambon. When the Venerable Father saw such a great formation of troops and such a crowd of people, all going to take part in the founding of the Mission of San Buenaventura, he felt called on to remark, as he remembered with what few people and what a lack of provisions some of the other Missions had been founded, "*Quo tandem tardius eo solemnius*,"[34] quoting words which had been used at the canonization of the Seraphic Doctor San Buenaventura.

As we have said, this entire expedition which had been waiting in the Mission of San Gabriel started out on the 26th of March, going in a northwesterly direction toward the coast of the Channel of Santa Barbara. At the first encampment a courier arrived about midnight from the San Gabriel Mission, dispatched by Lieutenant-Colonel Don Pedro Fages, Commander of the expedition, which had come by order of the Commander-General to the Colorado River under orders to cross that river and to go on to San Gabriel, there to present the dispatches which he carried to the Governor of the Province, and to consult him about them. Upon his arrival in San Gabriel Captain Fages sent off a courier to the Governor who, on receipt of it, started out at the same hour with ten of his soldiers, returning to San Gabriel, leaving orders with the Commander of the new presidio of Santa Barbara to go on with the expedition to the Channel as he would soon return; and in case he was delayed to take steps for the founding of the Mission of San Buenaventura and there to wait for him. He then started for San Gabriel, there to treat with Commander Fages about the question of the Colorado River, of which I shall speak in the following chapter.

The expedition continued its journey the next day, and on the 29th of March arrived at the entrance to the Channel and set up a camp at the place which had been named by the first expedition, in the year 1769, *Assumpta*, or the Assumption of Our Lady, and previously chosen for the Mission of San Buenaventura. The site is near the beach, on the edge of which there is a large Indian town well formed of pyramid-shaped houses made of grass. This site is at latitude 34 degrees 13 minutes. On the next day after arrival the people were busy constructing a large Cross, and an arbor which was to serve as a chapel, and in arranging and adorning the altar for the saying of the first Mass on the following day.

On the last of March, and on the first day of the joyful Passover, Feast of the Resurrection of our Lord, the Venerable Father President blessed the ground and the Holy Cross, which was venerated and set up, and then he sang the first Mass, in which he preached on the Sovereign Mystery of the day to the troops. He then took possession of the site of the Mission dedicated to the seraphic doctor, San Buenaventura. The pagan people of the town showed themselves greatly delighted with their new neighbors and were all willing to help in the building of the chapel, and with the same pleasure continued to help in the work of constructing a house for the Father, all being made of wood. The soldiers assigned to act as guard began to cut the wood for their barracks and for their own houses, building a stockade for security and defense.

In the same way work was begun on the construction of a ditch which was to bring water from a large perennial stream which flowed not far from the place, in order that they might have water near to their houses, as well as to have the use of it for the fields and for the crops which were to be the maintenance of those who might be converted. With the help of a converted Indian from the Mission of San Gabriel, who knew something of their language, it was possible to make the pagans understand what was their motive in coming to this land, which was no other than that of directing their souls toward heaven and making them Christians. Although in the fortnight in which the Venerable Father Founder remained in the new Mission he did not see any one baptized, he did have the pleasure in his visit of the following year to find there quite a little group of Christians. And when the task of his Apostolic life had been finished there were fifty-three Christians on the roll, and every day since the number has increased.

CHAPTER LIII

News of the Disaster on the Colorado River is Received. The Effect on the Expedition. The Presidio of Santa Barbara is Founded and the Venerable Father President Returns to Monterey.

WE have told in the preceding chapter how the Governor returned from the first day's camp to the Mission of San Gabriel, where he arrived at daybreak on the 27th of March, and there went over with the Lieutenant-Colonel, Don Pedro Fages, the order and instructions which the latter brought from the Commander-General. He also told the Governor all the details of what had happened, as he had learned them from the declarations which the rescuing party had secured, and later I was able to have in my hands these same documents, which Senyor Fages loaned me afterwards when he became Governor of this same province. Although the subject does not belong to this story, I will tell only that which justifies what had been practiced in these Missions under the direction of the Venerable Father Junípero, taking care not to omit anything of importance.

It was said that the Yuma Indians — which is the tribe that occupies the shores of the Colorado River towards the pass, at the beginning when the Mission was first founded — showed signs of being friendly and made no resistance, but on the contrary appeared to be pleased at having our people for their neighbors. So the two Missions were founded, that of the Immaculate Conception of Mary Most Holy and the Mission of Saints Peter and Paul, at a distance of three leagues from each other, both of them on this side of the river; that is, on the side of the Missions of California. These were established in accordance with the plan which has been explained in Chapter LI. As the Missionary Fathers had nothing with which to attract the Indians or ingratiate themselves, and as they could not easily keep in communication with them, their conversion was much retarded, although the Indians did not fail to frequent the settlement and there traffic with the soldiers and colonists by bringing in their wares for exchange, and also obtaining cloth in exchange for corn which they were accustomed to harvest from little patches along the river edge (though no very great amount was brought in, as the converts maintained themselves as did the other gentiles from wild seeds). In spite of these difficulties, with the help of a good interpreter and by dint of constant communication with them, they succeeded in baptizing a few, but as these converts did not live in the settlements but in the gentile villages, having the same liberty and the same customs as they, they did not come often to the Mission for services, and the Missionaries found themselves obliged to go in search of them among the villages, and to remain with them some days in order to repeat the prayers and to teach Christian doctrine as well as to try to persuade them to come to Mass on the Feast Days. All this was accomplished with great labor and much discouragement.

To these obstacles must be added a feeling of resentment which spread among the Indians as they saw how the pack-animals and the cattle of the soldiers and colonists were constantly eating the grass which was to provide them with seeds and from which they had hitherto supported themselves during the greater part of the year. They also saw how the colonists had appropriated all the little patches of land along the river which could be utilized and which they were now not able to plant as before. For here the settlers had planted their corn and beans, their squash and melons, and even with this the cultivated ground was much restricted, as only here and there were there bottom lands in which the moisture remained when the river ran low during the dry season. On seeing how they were deprived of this which they considered their principal inheritance and how their new neighbors had appropriated it all without allowing any of the natives to make use of these lands, the Arch-Enemy used this to incite in them a great enmity against the Spaniards (as indeed he was aware how these Missionaries had come to establish these towns for the purpose of making Christians of the natives and snatching them from his tyrannous slavery and dominion), so they resolved not only to drive them out of the land but out of the world, and by putting an end to them, get possession of the herds of horses which they greatly coveted.

Neither the soldiers nor the settlers knew anything of this, but it seems from the declarations that the Missionary Fathers suspected something, as for some time previously they had been insisting upon the soldiers and the colonists preparing themselves against sudden death. Almost every day they had preached to them about this, which resulted in the frequent reception of the Sacraments, urging them also to attend the church services and the recital of the Rosary, the Way of the Cross, and other exercises. So continuous had been these religious exercises that the settlements seemed more like convents than anything else.

One Sunday, just as the last Mass was concluded, a great horde of Indians fell upon both settlements at the same time, immediately killing the Commander, the Sergeant and all the soldiers and settlers, except a very few who succeeded in hiding themselves. As soon as the four Missionary Fathers saw the terrible destruction, they began to exercise their Apostolic mission by hearing the Confessions of some and by helping others to die, with fervent exhortations, but their lives were also taken with the greatest cruelty, even while in the exercise of these holy offices. They also took the life of Captain Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada and the soldiers from Monterey, as the whole eight of them had been on the other side of the river taking care of the horses. In spite of the most valiant resistance they were all killed and the horses carried off.

One of the few soldiers who had been able to hide themselves managed to get away and find his way to the first presidio of Sonora, where he gave an account of what had happened to the Captain of the garrison, who immediately communicated the same to the Commander-General, who in turn ordered the assembling of the volunteer dragoons from Cataluña and the jacketed soldiers, as many as he could get. He dispatched them under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Pedro Fages, and with a second in command who was captain of regular troop. He ordered them to proceed to the Colorado River and if they found that it was so, as the soldier had declared (who in the meantime was put under arrest), that they should in the first place ransom all the captives and for this purpose take with them clothing and other things which the Indians like. And when this was done to try to find out from those whom they might rescue who had been the leaders in the revolt, and then to seize these, and to bring them prisoners to Sonora, and upon the rest to inflict condign punishment. He also instructed them to communicate with the Governor of Monterey and to arrange to have him come down so that they could fall upon the Indians at the same time from both sides of the river, and so accomplish their enterprise with some degree of success and to make an example of these gentiles so that the passage through that country might not be interrupted.

Commander Fages proceeded with the expedition to the Colorado River and upon arriving there found the shores of the river near the pass deserted. He crossed to the other side and came to the site of the Missions and there he found everything burned to the ground and reduced to ashes; the dead who had been lying exposed he ordered buried; he found the bodies of the Venerable Missionary Fathers, of the first Mission Fr. Juan Diaz of the Province of San Miguel, and Fr. Matias Moreno of the Province of Burgos, both of them lying exposed, but in different places. He ordered the bodies placed in boxes in order that he might carry them back to Sonora.

From there he passed on to the site of the other Mission, and found it also burned and the dead bodies strewn about. These he buried as he had done at the other Mission. But he did not find the bodies of the Missionaries, who were the Fathers Fr. Francisco Garces of the Province of Aragon, and Fr. Juan Barraneche of the Province of Santa Helena of Florida and Havana. All of them thought that these two men had not been killed, relying on the fact that Father Garces was very much beloved of the Indians, as he had lived a long time with them, going about without any companion or escort and never meeting with any harm. On the contrary, they esteemed him highly and freely gave him to eat of their native food, which he seemed to enjoy quite as heartily as any of them. He was known among them by the name of "Viva Jesus," which was his ordinary salutation to the Indians, and he taught them to salute one another in the same way.

This Father, with only an Indian for a companion, had visited a large number of unknown tribes along the Colorado River before the colonies were established. He came to these Missions and from here went on, entering the province of Moki or Moqui [Hopi],[38] and from there to Sonora without any of the gentiles in any of the tribes doing him the least harm, even though he was not able to understand their language nor to use his Indian companion as an interpreter (for in all these nations different dialects are used), but everywhere they were given to eat of the native foods. From this it was considered likely that they had not killed him and his companion, but that they were to be found among the gentiles if they could only find out where these were in order to ask them. However, God was not willing to deprive this man of the great merit of giving his blood and life in behalf of the conversion of these pagans, and He permitted that here in the Mission, where he was most defended by the presence of the troops, that he should meet with the same cruel death that had come to the others, as they declared who had been saved alive by being taken prisoners.

The soldiers of the expedition, as they went about gathering up the bodies, noticed a little stretch of ground which was green in the midst of all the rest that had been burned over and that upon it were growing some bits of grass and some little flowering plants of various colors, some of them familiar to us and some of them not, among them being found the camomile. Here the Commander ordered them to dig, and they found the two blessed Fathers whose venerable bodies were lying together, both of them with their sackcloth, which for some reason had not been burned. Here, as afterwards was learned from the declarations, an old Indian woman, who had thought a great deal of both the Fathers while they were alive, had found them and when she saw that they were dead had buried them.

Commander Fages ordered the bodies placed in boxes and afterwards himself brought them and delivered them to the Reverend Father President of the Missions of the Pimeria in Sonora, belonging to the College of the Holy Cross at Querétaro, together with the declarations which had been taken concerning the massacre and among the strange things which were told, and which I have read, is the following which I here insert because of its very strangeness.

After the burning of the Missions that very night after the massacre, a procession of people all dressed in white could be seen moving with lighted candles in their hands and carrying Crosses with candlesticks, and going back and forth around the place where the Mission had stood, singing something or other, no one knew what. After having encircled the place many times they disappeared. This procession was seen night after night, not only by the Christians but by the pagans, and so filled them with terror and fear that they abandoned their lands and moved some eight leagues down the river, taking with them the Christian captives. To be sure, this sight did not cause any terror to the Christians, but rather filled them with joy. This change was the reason why none of the Yuma tribe had been found at the place of the massacre. The soldiers looked for them and found them about eight leagues down the river, but hidden away in the thick underbrush of the trees along the river bank, but were not able to get them to come out or to treat with them except by shooting at them. This, however, they did not do, but managed to ransom all the captives by making an exchange of clothing, the exchange being effected at arm's length as it were. When the Commander saw that for the present he could do nothing more, he decided to return to Sonora with the rescued captives and with the bodies of the dead, and to give an account to the Commander-General.

When this officer had been informed of all that had happened, he ordered that another expedition be prepared, in order to capture the leaders about whom they now had information through the declaration of the persons ransomed, and they knew who had been the principal leaders, and so thought they could make an example of the bold and rebellious Yuma tribe. In order that they might catch them he gave orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Fages, who was Commander of the expedition, instructing him that on arriving at the Colorado River he should leave there, under the command of the second Captain, the greater part of the troops, and then taking another part, he should cross the river and come on to these settlements, in order to treat with the Governor of the Province about this matter, to whom he was to bring the order that he come with all the troops that he could spare, and join in person the expedition at the river, so that, with the forces operating on both sides of the river, they might be able to accomplish their purpose. It was on this mission that Commander Fages arrived in San Gabriel on 26th of March, the same day upon which the Governor had started out for the founding of the Channel Missions, as I have already related.

As soon as the Governor received the documents which Captain Fages delivered to him, he returned to San Gabriel, that they might both discuss the matter. They then decided to postpone the expedition until September, when the river would be at low water and easily forded. In order that the forces from Sonora might not be unnecessarily detained so long a time at the river, Captain Fages returned thither and ordered them to return to Sonora, taking with them the documents for the Commander-General, in which a full account was given of what they had agreed upon. Then Captain Fages returned with his troops to San Gabriel to wait for the appointed time to come. The expedition proceeded to carry out its plans in September but did not bring about the pacification of the Indians of that tribe, although they killed a great many of the pagans, without the loss of any of the soldiers. A few were wounded but not seriously, but for all that they tried so hard, the pass remained impassable. With this attempt it seems that the Commander-General and the Governor were disillusioned as to the new system they had planned for the subjugation of the Indians, as they learned that it was not so well adapted to the situation as our own settlements. In view of the great failure, after all the expense incurred and all entirely without any results, it seems that they were obliged to abandon their plans which they had projected for the Establishments along the Channel, for they had it in mind to put into the hands of the Missionaries simply the spiritual part, allowing the converts to live and to take care of themselves as they did before, and to enjoy the same liberty as the other gentiles.

CHAPTER LIV

Continuing the Narrative of the Events Preceding the Founding of the Presidio and Mission of Santa Barbara.

AS soon as the Governor found that the suspension of the expedition to the Colorado River would not require his presence there until September, and as soon as Captain Fages had departed, as we have said, the Governor left San Gabriel in order to have a hand in founding the settlements in the Channel. He arrived in the middle of April at the place where the Mission of San Buenaventura had been begun and saw the site selected and all the preparations that were being made for the establishing of the Mission, both in regard to the spiritual and the secular work, in accord with the plans adopted in all the other Missions. But he did not say a word, although (as we found out afterwards) he had formed the plan of establishing these Missions in line with the new system adopted for the Colorado River. The great difference between the two, as shown by the effects just described, as we afterwards learned from Captain Fages, may have served to open his eyes and to make him change his plans. At any rate he said not a word nor did he manifest any opposition to the methods he saw being employed in the Mission of San Buenaventura.

Soon after he spoke of going on and starting the founding of the presidio of Santa Barbara and the Venerable Father President was of the same mind. He left as temporary Missionary in San Buenaventura, Father Cambon, to serve until the vessels could arrive, bringing the six Missionaries who were expected. The Governor left as an escort for the new Mission a Sergeant and fourteen soldiers. This was more than at any time had been stationed with any new Mission, and shortly ten more were added to the number on the return of Captain Fages, who was waiting for the month of September to arrive in order to carry out the Colorado River expedition.

All the rest of the troops went on to take part in the founding of the presidio of Santa Barbara under the command of the Lieutenant and Ensign, and also with the Governor and his ten soldiers from

Monterey. The Venerable Father President also accompanied the force. They traveled along the coast or beach of the Channel in front of the islands which form it, and after going about nine leagues from the Mission of San Buenaventura, which they judged to be about half way to the end of the Channel, the Governor ordered the troops to halt. Then, with the help of the Rev. Father President and some of the soldiers, he explored the region and they found a very favorable site for the location of the presidio within view of the beach, which here forms a bay, and in which the vessels might anchor, and where there was a large Indian village. The Governor ordered camp to be made in said suitable place and then began the cutting of timber for the large Cross, the little hut for the first chapel, and the table for the altar. The Venerable Father President blessed the ground and the Holy Cross which was set up and venerated. He also said the first Mass which was attended by the Governor and officers and all the troops, then his Reverence preached an eloquent sermon, concluding the ceremony by the formal act of taking possession of the site, without the slightest opposition on the part of the natives.

The next day they began to cut the wood for the construction of the chapel, the houses for the Father, for the officers, barracks, storehouses, and dwelling-houses for the married soldiers. The stockade was also built. Here the Venerable Father remained quite a while, until the Governor told him that he would not proceed to the founding of the Mission until the presidio was concluded. Upon hearing this, his Reverence said: "As I am not needed here, seeing the Mission is not to be founded, I propose to go on to Monterey, as it cannot be very long before the vessels will come, and from there I will send down the Father, and in the meantime, in order that all these people here may not be without Mass and without a spiritual adviser, I will call hither one of the Missionaries from San Juan Capistrano." This plan he carried out, but before going on he confirmed all those among the troops who had not previously received this Holy Sacrament.

He left the garrison of Santa Barbara for Monterey full of joy at having seen the Mission of San Buenaventura founded at last after so many years of long waiting. On his way he visited the two Missions of San Luis Obispo and San Antonio and in both of them he confirmed all those who had been baptized since March, when he had previously administered Confirmation, and he retired to his own Mission in the month of June. His arrival was opportune, for on that same day, a little before his arrival at Monterey, he met a courier who was bringing documents and letters from Mexico City, which the vessels had brought out, these having anchored in that port on the 2d of June, of the year 1782. Although he rejoiced at the news of the arrival of the vessel, when he was told that no Fathers had arrived, he was overcome with sadness, as I shall tell in the next chapter.

CHAPTER LV

The Channel Settlements are Suspended to the Great Regret and Grief of the Venerable Father Junipero.

AT the same time that the Commander-General ordered the recruiting of troops for the Channel settlements, the new Viceroy, His Excellency, Don Martin de Mayorga, asked of the Reverend Father Guardian of our College, in the name of said Commander-General, for six friars to go out as Missionaries to the three Missions. The Venerable Council of the College appointed these men from among those who volunteered, and one of them had an opportunity of writing, so that the word reached these Missions, and the Venerable Father President felt quite sure that the Fathers would arrive on the vessel. But in this he was mistaken, as I will now relate.

After the naming of the six Missionaries, these went to His Excellency to ask for the customary donations of vestments and utensils for church and vestry, as well as for the stipends for the Missions and for transportation. They also asked for the donations for the house and field. His Excellency ordered all these things prepared with the exception of the equipment of house and field, excusing himself by saying that the Commander-General and the Governor of the Province had written to say that these were not necessary and should not be given. Upon receiving this reply the Fathers inquired, with all due caution, into the cause or motives for the change, and were informed that it was the plan to found these three Missions according to the new system, that is, in the same way as had been founded the two Missions of the Colorado River, as we have already described.

As soon as they were sure of this they presented a written statement to the Venerable Council, excusing themselves for not being willing to go under the conditions which they had discovered, as they believed that according to this new plan it would not be possible to secure the conversion of the gentiles (the thing which His Majesty desired) because those of the Channel were of the same kind as those of the rest of New California, for they were in the very center of the conquered region, and their reduction could be secured only by their interest in what we might have to give them to eat or to wear, and so, little by little, would they be brought to understand spiritual good and evil. As soon as the Missionaries would have nothing to offer them, they would fail to win their affection. Besides, if they were not to live together in a town and within sound of the bell, but dispersed among their villages in the same condition as they were in when they were naked and hungry gentiles, it would be impossible to get them to leave their pagan customs, nor would it be possible to civilize them, as His Majesty had so constantly enjoined upon the Missionaries dedicated to this work to do, as is shown by the laws for the Indies. Now, as by the new system this end was not likely to be reached, it would be useless for His Majesty to spend the annual stipends and to go to the other expense of transporting them by sea and land to the field; and though they had volunteered for the service, they now begged to be excused.

As the Reverend Father Guardian and the Fathers of the Council of the College saw that the reasons adduced by the Missionaries under appointment were well founded, they presented the same to His Excellency, but as the decision of the matter did not depend on the Viceregal government, but upon the Commander-General, who was more than five hundred leagues from Mexico City, there was a long delay in receiving his answer, and the departure of the Missionaries was suspended. All this the Reverend Father Guardian wrote to the Venerable Father Junípero, instructing him to refrain from the founding of the Missions until further orders, which would be issued when the system to be employed was to be the same as that they had already followed, and with which so much had already been gained.

This unexpected news greatly distressed the fervent heart of the zealous Prelate, as he considered it a snare of the Enemy in order to hinder the conversion of those pagans. But he did not lose his inward calm and peace; but rather, yielding himself more fully to God in his desires, he accepted the Divine Will and resigned himself to the orders of his Prelate, as the slightest suggestion from that source he had always taken as a command to be strictly fulfilled. This action on the part of the Prelate put our Venerable Father in a dilemma, for one of the three Missions he had already founded, as he had been so very certain that at least two Friars would come. Now he learned that they not only would not come, but he had the order from the Reverend

Father Guardian to suspend the founding of them. He was in doubt as to whether he should retire the Missionary from the Mission founded at San Buenaventura, seeing it was just at the very beginning, and if he did not, and allowed the Father to remain, would he not be remiss in his obedience to the will of the Prelate? This the Venerable Father did not wish to decide by himself, as he feared he would err on account of his great desire to ever increase the number of the Missions, and he had never allowed obstacles to hinder, but always trusted in God, who is the Owner of this spiritual planting; so in order not to proceed on his own judgment, he desired to hold a meeting of the Missionaries nearest at hand in order to consult them.

As there were in his own Mission his companion and one extra Father, he wrote to the four nearest Missions asking that one from each should come to Monterey, and when we had gathered together, he read to us the letter from the Reverend Father Guardian, and then he told us all the news concerning the way in which the Mission of San Buenaventura had been founded, using the same system as prevailed in all the rest, how the Governor himself had seen it and had not said a word, for if he had any secret purpose in the matter, he had not expressed it until now. He thought that perhaps, in view of the bad results obtained in the Colorado River Missions, where there was such a loss of life and very unusual expenses, not only on account of what was destroyed, but also on account of the effort to punish the offenders, and all without the slightest results, he might have changed his mind as to the system. However, the Prelate desired our opinion as to whether the Mission of San Buenaventura was to remain or not.

Having been made to understand the situation, which was discussed thoroughly by a complete expression of opinion, it was finally decided that, in view of all that had been said, and also in view of the fact that the equipment for this Mission of San Buenaventura had been sent out since the year 1769, including the sacred vessels, the utensils for the Church and vestry, as well as the things needful for house and field, and these had been in deposit on the field since the year 1771, and also considering that there were two extra Missionaries who could act as the ministers of this new settlement, the Mission was to remain, as one that had been already established before the order for suspension had been received, and therefore to be conducted according to the old system. This was done, because it was thought that to suspend it now would bring about very serious consequences, and would be a drawback to the whole Conquest.

His Reverence accepted the opinion of us all and was quieted in his heart and conscience. He immediately appointed the two Missionaries for it, in order that they might set out for their destination without loss of time. By this provision, the Mission of San Carlos was left without an extra Father, and the Venerable Father President would be hindered in his visits of Confirmation in the other Missions. A full account of what he had decided upon and done was sent by the vessels to the Reverend Father Guardian of the College and the Venerable Council, begging them that, early in the following year, at least two more Missionaries should be sent out to act as extra priests, as under the present shortage in workers, he would be hindered in his work of visiting and confirming, and also because, in case of the sickness or the death of any Missionary, there would be no one to supply his place, and it would be very hard for any one of them to continue in his post alone.

From this it came about that the fervent and industrious Prelate was not able to go out and make any visits until the following year, and of these I will speak in the following chapter. But he gave himself the more assiduously to the spiritual work of his Mission, and God comforted him by sending to him many pagan people, so that entire villages came in, and he was kept busy instructing them in the catechism, and then baptizing them as soon as they were sufficiently instructed. Confirmation then followed and a great number were added to the Church. This spiritual fruitage, which was gathered in great abundance in his Mission, was a source of great comfort to him on the one hand, and on the other an affliction, as it reminded him constantly of the Channel of Santa Barbara and of the larger harvest which might have been gathered. He therefore the more unceasingly asked of the Lord for laborers for that Vineyard, which, as he had already personally observed, was ripe for the harvest.

CHAPTER LVI

Two Missionaries Arrive to Help and the Venerable Father President Sets Out to Make His Last Visit to the Missions in the South.

WHEN the Reverend Father Guardian learned from the letters of the Father President that the Mission of San Buenaventura had been established on the same basis as the others (which he approved) and also that there were no extra helpers, he presented the need to the Council of the College. In spite of the fact that there was such a scarcity of Friars that lived in the Community, that those in the Convent scarcely exceeded the number of those who were engaged in these nine Missions, and also that not a word of news had been received from Spain, they still decided that two Friars should be sent to supply the need which might occur here. These were gotten ready and sent to San Blas, where they embarked without incident, and arrived safe and sound at this port on the 2d of June, of the year 1783. After resting a few days in this Mission and in that of Santa Clara, they went on by land to San Carlos of Monterey, there to receive the blessing of the Prelate, whom they found quite sick from a severe pain in his chest.

He had suffered for many years from this malady on his breast, from the time he was in College, although he had never complained, nor had he ever taken the least care to cure himself, paying as little attention to this trouble as to the sore and the swelling on his foot and leg. Whenever we spoke to him about applying some remedy he would generally say: "Never mind, we might make it worse; I shall get along somehow," and then he would repeat the words of Saint Agatha: *Medicinam carnalem corpori meo nunquam exhibui*—"I have never applied carnal medicine to my body." This pain and choking of the chest, although he never said whether it pained him or not, must, I am sure, have been severe, as I remember the custom his Reverence had in many of the sermons which he preached in his Missions among the faithful, and of which I have already spoken, to move his audience to weep over their sins and to feel sorrow for their wrongdoing.

Besides the chain which he used to take out, in emulation of San Francisco Solano, and with which he used to chastise himself in the pulpit in the most cruel manner, he more generally would produce a large stone which he kept concealed in the pulpit. When he had finished the sermon and come to the Act of Contrition, he would lift up high in his left hand the Crucifix and then, taking the stone in the other, he would begin to give himself blows with such force that those in the audience often feared he would break his chest and die in the pulpit.

He used also to have another device to move his audience which he used principally in his sermons about hell and eternity. It was even more serious, painful and dangerous to his breast. He had a large taper with four wicks which he lighted, in order that his hearers might see the soul in sin and under condemnation. He would conclude by opening his breast (and for this purpose he wore a tunic and habit which opened in front), and then upon his bare flesh he would apply the great flame of the taper, while his hearers were melted to tears, some at the thought of their own sins, and others from compassion for the zealous preacher, judging that without doubt he had badly burned his breast. But the fervent Father would come down from the pulpit without any sign of pain and he would never give the least indication that he was suffering from what he had done, although it is only natural to suppose that he suffered much, and that his breast must have been bruised and burned. From these customs it came about that he endured constantly a certain heaviness of the chest, from which he was relieved only when he had discharged or vomited certain phlegms. One of the occasions on which he felt the worst was when the two Missionaries arrived at the Mission of Monterey. The Venerable Prelate received them with the affectionate embrace of a father, rejoicing greatly in their arrival, but regretting at the same time that a larger number could not have come out in order to make possible the establishing of the other Missions in the Channel. He thanked God fervently and accepted His Holy Will, continuing to repeat his prayer that laborers be sent out for the work in the Channel.

As soon as he had some one to take his place in his absence, he determined to leave at the Mission one of those who had just arrived, who was the Father Fr. Diego Noboa, from the Province of Santiago de Galicia, and to go down with the other, named Fr. Juan Riobó, from the same Province, to San Diego, the latter to supply any lack that there might be in the Southern Missions, and then his Reverence would make his last visit to those Missions and confirm their young converts. The sailing of the vessel was delayed until August and during this time his malady in the chest grew worse, so that we all judged he would be in no condition to set sail, much less to return by foot over that long road.

The Venerable Father President must have felt the same, for on the day of sailing he wrote to bid me good-bye, and gave me particular charge of the duties of his office and finished his letter with much grace and resignation: "I write all this as it may be that I may return *by mail*, as I feel very seriously ill. Please commend me to God." In spite of his being so sick, the fervent flame of zeal which burned in his heart made him postpone all thought of his own health or even his life in his love for his fellowmen, as he did not want to deprive them of the spiritual benefits of the Holy Sacrament of Confirmation. And as he saw that he had only until the following July in which to exercise this right, before the ten years for which it was granted would expire, he did not wish to omit any opportunity to be diligent in its use, in order that he might give to them this spiritual good, praying that God in whose behalf he undertook the voyage would give His aid. With this firm confidence he set out with the other Father, and arrived without incident in San Diego in September.

He was no better of his maladies on arrival there but greatly animated in fervor and spirit, so that immediately he arranged with the Fathers for the preparation of the neophytes that he might confirm them. This he did, and then started out on the long journey back to Monterey of one hundred and seventy leagues, making stops in each Mission and striving not to leave a single Christian without Confirmation, as this was to be the last visit he would make in which he would exercise this faculty. In the Mission of San Gabriel, as the Missionaries afterwards wrote me, he was so very bad of his chest that they thought he would die, but he did not cease to recite the prayers, celebrate Mass, and to confirm, though he did so with such suffering that the little Indian altar-boys who served the Mass would say to the other Fathers, with much sympathy and sorrow, whilst the tears would start in their eyes: "Fathers, the old Father (for so they called him) wants to die." With that the Fathers were greatly moved and felt a great sorrow of heart, and more still when he had confirmed all and was ready to set out for

San Buenaventura; they greatly feared he would die on the road, as it is a distance of thirty leagues with no place intermediate, except the homes of pagan population.

But God gave him strength to arrive at his dearly beloved Mission of San Buenaventura (the last which he had founded the year before) and when he saw there quite a number of Christians where the previous year he had seen only pagans, he could hardly restrain his joy, and thanked God. All these he confirmed with especial gladness and rejoicing of heart, so that he seemed to be greatly relieved of his maladies, and left that place much better in regard to the choking sensation in his chest.

He went through the villages of the gentiles along the twenty leagues of the coast of the Channel of Santa Barbara, where there were not less than twenty Indian towns, well constructed and populated with many people, and in each one of them his heart melted and his tears flowed as he thought how he had not been allowed to water that field with his blood in order to bring about their subjugation, because the field had not been put into his hands. But he did try to water it with his tears, which were born of his most fervent desires. He could not help bursting out with the prayer: "*Rogate Dominum mesis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam.*"[16] (Matt. ix: 38.) The lack of laborers undoubtedly shortened his life, because of the very intense desires he had for the conversion of the gentiles, for since the moment in which he received the news that no Missionaries were to be sent for the Channel, his heart was greatly oppressed and he offered himself more fervently to God our Lord in the work of the Propagation of the Faith.

On leaving the Channel he continued his journey, passing through the two Missions of San Antonio and San Luis Obispo in which he stopped to confirm the newly baptized converts, and so, covered with merit, he returned to his own Mission of San Carlos, in January of 1784, much better in health than when he had set sail in August, causing all to wonder and rejoice at seeing him once more at home, when they had thought they would never see him again.

But his arrival at the Mission was not a sign to give rest to his weary body, which had been burdened with the long journey, added to his more than seventy years of age. With greater fervor than ever he applied himself to the task of cultivating his Vineyard, instructing the gentiles, baptizing and confirming them, and performing the other routine exercises in which his time was fully taken up. He celebrated the Lenten season and Holy Week and performed the exercises with his accustomed devotion, and after Easter when he had finished all the work of hearing Confessions and giving Holy Communion in compliance with the precepts of the Church, he prepared to come to these Missions of the North to make his last visit.

CHAPTER LVII

The Last Visit Which He Made to These Missions in the North.

AS soon as the Venerable Father President was somewhat freed from the more urgent tasks of his Mission, principally those in the fulfillment of the precepts of the Church, he set out for these Missions in order to administer Confirmation for the last time and to bless the Church of the Mission of Santa Clara for which its Missionaries had invited him, as they had resolved to dedicate the building on the 16th of May. His Reverence left his Mission at the end of April, but passed on without stopping at Santa Clara, postponing Confirmations there until his return, and so came on to this Mission of Our Father San Francisco, the point farthest away, where he arrived on the 4th of May in fairly good health. His presence was a source of great joy to me in this, the most northerly of the subjugated territory. It was nine months since the Venerable Father, my Master and Professor, had written me, bidding me good-bye, as if we were never to see each other again. Therefore I was in the liveliest hopes of being able to enjoy the great happiness of his beloved companionship for a few days in this Mission; but God disposed otherwise than what we had desired, for he had been here only two days when I was obliged to leave in all haste for Santa Clara, as word had been brought that the head Missionary of that Mission, the Rev. Father Fr. Joseph Antonio Murguía, was seriously ill.

As soon as I received the letter I went to the Venerable Prelate for his benediction, as I must needs leave him there to attend to the Confirmations, and then set out. I found the sick man suffering from a high fever; I prepared him for the reception of the Holy Sacraments and on the 11th day of the same month of May he gave up his soul to his Creator, and we all piously believe that he must have gone to rest among those of the Church Triumphant and to receive from the Lord the reward for his ardent zeal in the conversion of souls, in which exercise he had been occupied for thirty-six years, twenty in the Missions among the Pames of the Sierra Gorda, where he was the means of converting many souls, and where he built a large church, which was the first in those regions to be built of stone.

He afterwards came from those Missions to the Californias, working five years in Old California and delivering over those Missions to the Reverend Dominican Fathers; from there he came to this New California and founded the Mission of our Seraphic Mother, Santa Clara, leaving in it when he died more than six hundred converted Indians. In this Mission he had just finished building a large church (which, according to the Reverend Father President, is the best and the largest in all these settlements) and in which work the late Father had been not only master, director and overseer, but also day laborer, teaching the converted Indians how to do the work. Having concluded it in order to celebrate the dedication on the 16th of May, God saw fit to take him to himself on the 11th of the month, without doubt, as we piously believe, in order that he might receive a larger reward in heaven.

The especially warm affection which I always felt for this *religious* since the year 1750 when we first met and began to be companions in the ministry, and until his death, when God permitted that I was to be the one to administer to him the Holy Sacraments to assist him in his last hours, and also the great affection which he had for me, makes it right that I should record here this tribute to his memory. No less was the affection which the Venerable Father Junípero had for him, as he always considered him a model religious, and a great laborer in the Vineyard of the Lord, and it will be remembered from certain letters which I have copied and recorded in this narrative, how earnestly he had requested that he should be sent out to these new Missions. In spite of this great affection which he had for him, his Reverence was not able to be present at his death-bed on account of the violence of the fever and the long distance of fifteen leagues to the place where the Reverend Father was occupied in administering Confirmation at this Mission of Our Father. As soon as he had finished, after having confirmed all the converts, he came on to Santa Clara in company with the Governor, who had been invited to act as sponsor at the dedication of the church.

They arrived at the Mission on the 15th, in the morning, when we received them almost in silence, on account of the great grief which almost sealed our lips in view of the loss of the Father who had worked so hard to build this church, which they were now coming to bless, and from which, five days before the dedication, God had taken him away in order to give him his reward in heaven. In the afternoon the ceremony of blessing took place with all solemnity according to the Roman ritual, the whole congregation of neophytes and many pagans being present, as were also the troops and the colonists from the town of San José of Guadalupe. On the next day, which was the fifth Sunday after Easter, the day of the Dedication of the Basilica of Our Holy Father, San Francisco, the Reverend Father President sang the Mass and preached to the people with all his usual fervor and eloquence. When the Mass was finished he administered Confirmation to as many as had been prepared.

Although I expected to return to my Mission, the Reverend Father detained me, saying that he wished to prepare himself for death, as it might be we would not see each other again, and as he felt so seriously ill that it could not now be very long before the end would come. He spent some days in spiritual exercises, and made a General Confession, or repeated the Confession which he had made at other times, shedding many tears, but no more than I, as I feared that this would be the last time that I should see him, as it could not be what both of us so much desired, viz., that we should die together, or, at least, that one should be able to accompany the other in his last moments, and as his Reverence was looking forward to going back to his Mission and I to mine, making a distance between us of forty-two leagues, all inhabited by pagans, it would not be easy for us to enjoy this privilege. But it pleased the Father of Mercies and the God of all Consolation to grant me this comforting privilege after all, as we shall see in the following chapter.

During the days in which he lingered in Santa Clara he spent the time preparing for death, but he was also occupied in the holy exercise of baptizing a few who came in (he was always greedy to perform this service and seemed never to tire of it), and in confirming the neophytes who had not received this Holy Sacrament. As there were a few who, on account of sickness, were not able to come to the church, his Reverence went out to the village to confirm them in their homes, in order that they might not be deprived of this good, and so he did not leave a single Christian there who had not been confirmed. On the very day in which he performed the last of these Confirmations he started for his Mission of Monterey, leaving me to bear the burden of a grief which was the result of the most filial affection.

As soon as he arrived at his Mission, which was early in June, he sent back to Santa Clara, to act in the stead of the late Father Murguía, the extra Missionary who had been stationed in Monterey, Fr. Diego Noboa, and his Reverence took up anew his Apostolic labors, giving himself to the instruction of all those who had not yet been confirmed, so that they might be before the period of ten years for which this Commission and Faculty should expire, which was on the 16th of July of this same year, 1784. When that day arrived he had performed this ceremony upon all those who were in his Mission, so that there was not a single neophyte who had not been confirmed. When his Reverence saw that his faculties had expired, there had been confirmed by him five thousand three hundred and seven persons. It seemed that on that same day, the 16th of July, he might have said what the great Apostle to the Gentiles had said, "*Cursum consumavi, fidem servavi*" (I have finished my course, I have kept the faith), for it seems as though on that same day the announcement arrived which prophesied his early death, as we shall see.

Upon this same 16th day of July there anchored in this port of San Francisco one of the vessels which came from San Blas, bringing provisions and supplies, and by it were brought letters from which he learned that the laborers who were to come on this vessel for the founding of the Missions in the Channel were not to be sent. As the letter from the Reverend Father Guardian explained, it was due to the reduced number of Friars who were at present at the College, as some had died and others had returned to Spain after the expiration of their terms of service at the Missions. The letter closed by saying that for some years no news had been received from Spain.

This information was a hard blow to the fervent heart of the Venerable Father Junípero, because he saw his desires frustrated for those Missions which he had so hoped to found before his death. When he read that this was no longer possible it seems as though he also read in the same letter the announcement of his own death, if it may not be said that he had a more certain communication on that point, for from what he did, it seems that he expected the end to come soon. As soon as the letters had been received from the vessel, he wrote, as he was accustomed to do, to the various Missions telling the Missionaries of the arrival of the vessel and forwarding them the letters. To those who were farthest to the South he wrote, bidding farewell for eternity, as I found out some two weeks after his death from a letter which was sent in answer to his and which had reference to this farewell clause. To the Fathers of the near-by Missions of San Antonio (twenty-five leagues), and San Luis [Obispo] (fifty leagues), he wrote saying that he would be glad to have one Father from each Mission come, in order to receive the supplies which the vessel had brought, and because he very much desired to speak with them and to bid them good-bye as it might be the last opportunity. To me he wrote asking me to come to Monterey either by vessel or by land as it might seem best. From what afterward happened it can be seen that he did this in order that we might be present at his death, and it would have come out so, if the Fathers from the Missions of San Antonio and San Luis [Obispo] had received their letters as soon as I did.

CHAPTER LVIII

The Exemplary Death of the Venerable Father Junípero.

UPON receipt of the letter of the Reverend Father President, in which he asked me to go to Monterey, although he did not ask me to come quickly, I decided I had better go by land as the vessel would be delayed in sailing. I arrived at the Mission of San Carlos on the 18th of August and found his Reverence very weak indeed, although he was up and around, though with a heaviness on his chest. But for all that he did not refrain from going to Church in the afternoon to recite the Christian Doctrine and the prayers with the neophytes, concluding the vespers with the tender and devout hymn which the Venerable Father Margil had composed in honor of the Assumption of Our Lady, in whose Octave we happened to be. On hearing him sing with his usual natural voice, I said to a soldier who was standing by and speaking with me, that the Father President did not seem to be so very sick. To this the soldier replied (he had known him since the year 1769), "Father, we must not be too confident; he is sick, but this Saintly Father, when it comes to praying and singing, is always well; but he is almost finished."

The next day, which was the 19th of the month, he charged me with the singing of the Mass in honor of the most Holy Patriarch, Saint Joseph, as he was accustomed to do every month, saying that he was not well enough to do it. I did so, but his Reverence did not fail to take his place in the choir, and sing with the neophytes, and repeat the seven "Our Fathers" and the usual prayers. In the afternoon he did not fail to repeat the prayers and to sing the verses of the Virgin, and on the next day, which was Friday, he took part in the usual exercise of the Stations of the Cross in the church with all the people.

We took up, one by one, the points which he had called me to discuss with him while we were waiting for the arrival of the vessel. But he always caused me to fear his death was near at hand, because, whenever he entered into his little room or cell, which was made of adobe, we would find him very much absorbed and quiet, although his companion told me that he had been that way ever since the Faculty to Confirm had expired, which, as I have said, was on the same day in which the vessel anchored in the port of these establishments. Five days after my arrival at Monterey the packet-boat came in. Immediately the royal surgeon came out to the Mission to visit the Reverend Father President, and finding him so distressed with his chest trouble he proposed to apply some plasters in order to draw out the humor which had gathered in his breast. He replied that he might apply as many of these kinds of medicaments as he pleased. He did so without any other effect than that of adding to the pain of the afflicted body, but neither this strong remedy, nor the other pains from which he suffered, produced from him the slightest indication of any feeling, and he went about as if he had none of these maladies and were quite well. As there had been brought out on the vessel some cloth for the supply of the Mission, he set about cutting it with his own hands and distributing it among the converts to cover their nakedness.

On the 25th of August he mentioned to me how sorry he felt that the Fathers had not come from the two Missions of San Antonio and San Luis Obispo and that he feared that the letters had been delayed. Immediately I sent to the presidio and the messenger came back with the letters saying that they had forgotten to send them. As soon as I had informed myself of their contents and saw that it was to invite them to come to bid him farewell, I sent off a messenger with the letters, adding in the postscript that they must come as soon as possible, as I feared that it would not be long before our beloved Prelate would leave us, judging from his great weakness. Although both of them set out as soon as they received the letters, they did not arrive in time, as the one from the Mission of San Antonio, which is twenty-five leagues distant, arrived after his death but in time for the funeral, while the one from San Luis, fifty leagues distant, arrived three days later and was only able to be present at the Memorial Service which was held on the 7th.

On the 26th he arose more exhausted, saying that he had passed a bad night and that he wished to make disposition of himself in order that God might dispose of him. He passed the whole day in retirement without admitting of any distraction whatever, and, at night, he repeated with me his General Confession in many tears, but with complete knowledge of himself, as if he had been entirely well. When this was finished, after a little time spent in meditation, he took a cup of broth and lay down, saying that he did not wish any one to remain with him in his room.

At daybreak on the 27th I went to see him and found him with his breviary in his hands, as he was always accustomed to begin Matins before daybreak, and when he was on the road he used to begin them at daybreak. In reply to my question how he had passed the night he replied that he was all right, but that it might be well to consecrate a Host and to keep it in reserve until he would let me know. This I did, and when the Mass was over, I returned to advise him and he said that he was ready to receive the Most Divine Viaticum and that he would go to the church to receive it. I told him that this was not necessary, that we could adorn the cell as attractively as possible and that His Divine Majesty would come to visit him there. He replied in the negative, saying that he preferred to receive it in the church, seeing that as he could walk, there was no reason why his Lord should come to him. I had to yield and to carry out his holy wishes. He went by himself to the church (a distance of one hundred yards) accompanied by the Commander of the garrison, who had come to the ceremony, with some of the troops, which he had joined with that of the Mission. All the Indians of the village or Mission accompanied the devoted sick Father to the church with extreme tenderness and affection.

On arriving at the steps of the presbytery his Reverence knelt by the side of a little table which had been prepared for this service. I came out of the vestry robed, and approached the altar. While I was preparing the incense in order to begin the religious ceremony the ardent servant of God intoned the verses which begin with the words: "*Tantum ergo Sacramentum,*"[27] with his natural voice as sonorous as when in good health, though the tears in his eyes showed his emotion. I administered to him the Holy Viaticum with all the ceremonies of the ritual and when this most devout function had been concluded, which I had never seen under such circumstances, his Reverence remained kneeling in the same posture, giving thanks to the Lord. When he had finished he returned to his little room, accompanied by all the people. Some of them were weeping from devotion and tenderness, and others from grief and sorrow, because they feared they were to be deprived of their beloved Father. He remained alone, and going to his cell, seated himself in the chair by the table and fell into deep abstraction. When I saw him so withdrawn within himself I did not allow any one to go in to speak to him.

I saw that the carpenter from the presidio was about to go in, and when I stopped him, he told me that the Father had sent for him to have him make the coffin for his burial and he wished to ask him how he wanted it. This affected me very much but I would not allow him to go in to speak to the Father, but told him to make the coffin just as he had made the one for Father Crespi. His Reverence passed the whole day in absolute silence and profound recollection, sitting in his chair and taking a little soup only once in all the day, and without lying down.

At night he felt worse and asked me for the Holy Oils. This Holy Sacrament he received seated on a little stool made of rushes, and he repeated with us the Litany of the Saints with the Penitential Psalms. He passed the whole night without sleeping, the greater part of the time kneeling and leaning his breast against the boards of his bed. When I asked him why he did not lie down for a little while, he replied that he felt a little easier in that position. At other times he was seated on the floor, leaning against the breast of some one of the converts, who were all night long in the cell, attracted by the great love which they had for him as the Father who had begotten them in the Lord. When I saw him so greatly exhausted and leaning upon the arms of the Indians I asked the surgeon how he thought he was. He replied (as he seemed to be much aggravated) that it appeared to him that the Venerable Father was anxious to die upon the floor.

I went in soon after and asked him if he wished Absolution and the application of Plenary Indulgence: He replied in the affirmative. He prepared himself for it, and then, getting on his knees, he received Plenary Absolution and I applied to him the Plenary Indulgence of the Order. With this he was greatly comforted and spent the rest of the night in the manner I have described. The next day was that of St. Augustine, the 28th of August, and he seemed somewhat better, with less of suffocation in the chest, although during the whole night he had not slept, nor eaten anything. He spent the morning seated in his little rush chair leaning against the bed. This consisted of a few hard boards roughly hewn and covered with only a blanket, which he used rather to cover himself with than to soften his couch for resting, and he did not even have a sheep skin as is the custom in the College. He always slept this way when on the road, stretching out on the ground a blanket and a pillow and lying down upon them to get the necessary rest, sleeping always with a Cross upon his breast which he held in his arms. It was about a foot in length and he had carried it since he lived in the novitiate of the College and had never left it behind, but always took it with him on his journeys together with the blanket and the pillow. In his Mission, and in other places where he stopped, as soon as he arose from bed he would put the Cross upon the pillow. So it was on this occasion, as he had not wished to lie down during the night nor during the next morning of the day in which he was to yield his soul to his Maker.

About ten o'clock in the morning of St. Augustine's Day the officers from the frigate came to see him. They were the Captain and Commander, Don José Cañizares, very well known to his Reverence since the time of the first expedition in the year 1769, and the Royal Chaplain, Don Christobal Diaz, whom he had also known in this port in the year 1779. He received them with every mark of esteem, ordering that the bells be rung in their honor. He stood up to give each one a close embrace, just as if he were quite well, meeting them with all the compliments and ceremonies befitting their rank, and when they were seated, his Reverence occupying the little stool, they told him of the voyages which they had made to Peru since the time he had seen them, in the year 1779.

After having heard their story he said to them: "Well, Sirs, I am thankful that after so long a time in which we have not seen one another and in which you have made so long a voyage that you have been able to come to this far distant port in order to place a little earth upon my body." When the officers and all the rest of us who were present heard this we were quite surprised, because we saw him sitting there in his little chair and yet we heard him use this very expression. They said to him (scarcely concealing the tears which they could not keep back), "No, Father, we trust in God that you may yet recover and continue your work of conversion." The Servant of God replied (who if he had not had revealed to him the hour of his death, could at least say that it was very near at hand): "Yes, yes. Please do me this charity and work of mercy of throwing a little earth over me and I shall be very thankful to you." And then fixing his eyes on me he said: "I wish you to bury me in the church next to Father Fr. Juan Crespi, for the present, and when the stone church is built, you may place me where you will."

When my tears could be controlled enough to allow me to reply, I said to him: "Father President, if it is God's wish to take you to himself, it shall be done as your Reverence desires and in that case I ask your Reverence for the sake of the great love and affection which you have always had for me that when you arrive in the presence of the most Holy Trinity, you will offer adoration in my name, and that you will not forget me nor to pray for all those who dwell in these establishments, and especially for those who are here present." "I promise," he said, "that if the Lord in His infinite mercy shall grant me this everlasting felicity which I in no wise deserve on account of my faults, that I will do so for all, and that He may grant the conversion of all these pagan people whom I am leaving unconverted."

Not long after he asked me to sprinkle the room with holy water. This I did, and when I had asked him if he felt any pain he said "No." But he asked me that I would do it that he might have none. Then he remained awhile in profound silence. Suddenly he spoke to me as if much frightened and said: "I have come under the shadow of a great fear; I am very much afraid. Read to me the Recommendation for the Soul and please speak loud that I may hear it." This I did, attended by all the officers from the vessel, as well as by his companion, Fr. Matias Noriega, the surgeon, and many others from the vessel and from the Mission. I read the Recommendation for the Soul, to which the dying man made the responses as if he were well, sitting on his little stool, and moving all our hearts to tenderness.

As soon as I had finished he burst forth quite full of joy, saying: "Thanks be to God! Thanks be to God! He has quite taken away my fear! Thanks be to God, there is no fear now, and so let us go outside." We all went to another little outside room with his Reverence and all were astonished and filled with joy at seeing this new spirit in him. The Captain of the vessel then said to him: "Father President, you see what my Patron Saint, San Antonio, can do. I have asked him to make you well and I expect that he will do it and that you will be making some more voyages in behalf of these poor Indians." The Venerable Father did not reply to this, but with a little smile which he gave he made us all to understand that he did not expect such a thing, nor did he think he would recover.

He sat down in the chair by the table and taking up the Divine Office book began to recite the prayers. As soon as he had finished I reminded him that it was after one o'clock in the afternoon and asked him if he would like a cup of broth, and when he had assented he took it. After giving thanks, he said: "Let us now go to rest." He went on foot to his little room, where he had his bed of boards, and taking off only his mantle, he lay down upon the blanket which covered the boards, taking his Cross as before described, in order to compose himself for sleep. We all thought it was to sleep, seeing that in all the night he had not closed his eyes. The officers went out to dine, but as I was somewhat solicitous for him I returned after a few moments, and going up to the bed to see if he was asleep I found him just as we had left him a little before, but now asleep in the Lord, without having made any sign or movement of the agonies of death, his body showing no other sign of death than the cessation of breathing. He seemed to be asleep, and we all devoutly believe that he slept in the Lord a little after two in the afternoon of St. Augustine's Day, in the year 1784, and that he has gone to receive in heaven the reward for his Apostolic labors.

His laborious life came to an end at the age of seventy years, nine months and four days. He lived in the world sixteen years, nine months and twenty-one days, and as a religious fifty-three years, eleven months and thirteen days. Of these latter, in the exercise of his Apostolic ministry, he passed thirty-five years, four months and thirteen days, in which time he accomplished the glorious deeds which we have seen, in which his merits were more numerous than his steps, having lived in continual activity, always busy in virtuous and holy exercises and in peculiar achievements, all directed to the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls. He who with so great labor worked for others, will he not have done even more for the saving of his own soul? I might say a great deal, but the subject demands more time and more repose. If God will permit and if it be His Will, I will not neglect the labor of writing something concerning his heroic virtues for the sake of edifying and encouraging others.

As soon as I had made sure that we had all been left orphans through the departure of our Venerated Prelate, who had not fallen asleep but who in reality had died, I motioned to some of the neophytes to make the announcement with the bells. As soon as the double tolling spread abroad the sad news, the whole people came flocking in, lamenting the death of their beloved Father who had begotten them again in the Lord, and who had loved them more than if he had been their natural father. All desired to see him in order to relieve themselves of the sorrow which oppressed their hearts through the tears that flowed from their eyes. So great was the crowd of people, both of Indians and of soldiers and marines, that it was necessary to close the door in order to put him into the coffin, which the day before his Reverence had ordered made. And in order to prepare him for burial it was not necessary to do anything more than to take off his sandals (which became the keepsakes of the Captain of the packet-boat and the Father-Chaplain who had been present), and he remained with the same shroud as that in which he died, namely, with his habit, hood and cord and without an inner tunic, as the two which he had for his journeys he had sent to be washed six days before he died, together with a change of under-clothing which he did not care to put on again, as he wished to die with only his habit and hood, with the cord.

As soon as the body had been placed in the coffin, with six candles lighted, the door of the cell was opened. The sorrowful neophyte Indians were already there with their bouquets of flowers of every color which they had gathered from the fields to adorn the body of their lamented Father. The body was left in the room until evening and there was a continual flow of people who came and went, some of them repeating prayers, others touching his Venerable hands and face with rosaries and medals, crying out in great lamentation: "Holy Father!" "Blessed Father!" and using other epithets which were born of their great love for him, and in manifestation of the heroic virtues which they had seen him exercise, when alive, in their behalf.

As night came on we took him to the church, in procession which was formed of all the neophytes, soldiers, and the sailors who had remained. After placing the body upon a table, surrounded by six lighted candles, the service was concluded with a *Responsorio*. Those present begged me to leave the church open that they might watch over him and sing the Rosary for the Soul of the Deceased, renewing the watch at set intervals and so spending the whole night in continual prayer. I yielded to them in this, but placing two soldiers to act as sentinels, in order to prevent any indiscreet act of piety, or pious theft, as all were very anxious to secure some little thing which the deceased had used, especially the sailors and the soldiers who, on account of their larger knowledge of things, and because they held the late Venerable Father in very high esteem on account of his virtue and sanctity, as they had had dealings with him both on land and at sea, kept asking me for little things which he had used. Although I promised them that I would grant them their wish after the burial, this was not sufficient to prevent them from cutting off little pieces from his habit, taking them from the under side that it might not be noticed, and also a part of the hair of the crown, when they could do so without being seen by the sentinel, if, indeed, he did not become an accomplice with them and a participant in this pious robbery, for all were very anxious to secure some keepsake from the deceased, although such was their great esteem for him that they called them relics, in spite of my efforts to correct them and explain, etc.

CHAPTER LIX

Solemn Burial of the Venerable Father Junípero.

THE poverty of the land and of the people who inhabit it made it impossible to give the blessed remains of the Venerable Father Junípero the burial and the funeral honors with the pomp which his heroic virtues deserved, as we were reduced to simply a little detachment of troops from the presidio which was a league distant from the Mission, to the small guard located at the Mission, and the Mission converts who composed the congregation, the whole number not exceeding 600 persons of all ages. It was also impossible to have present many priests as there were no chaplains at the presidios and in each Mission there were stationed only two Missionaries and these far apart, so that it would be natural to expect that in the burial of any of the Missionaries, his companion who would be left alive would be the only one to take part in the ceremony and there would naturally be no larger concourse of people than the converted Indians and the little squad of five soldiers with their corporal.

But God saw fit to honor his Faithful Servant (who had so constantly labored in order to create these establishments in which the Lord is praised and who had been equally anxious to separate himself from every earthly honor) by permitting that his death should occur at the time when the vessel was anchored in the port of Monterey, which is only during the short time each year when it stops to leave the cargo, so that we had the privilege of having with us at that time some Spanish people. So that the funeral took place in the presence of the sailors and the soldiers from the royal garrison and was conducted by four priests, and later in the memorial service, five were present, of which I shall speak later.

The burial took place the day following his death; that is, on the 29th of August, which was Sunday. In the morning the Reverend Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar arrived at the presidio, coming from the Mission of San Antonio, twenty-five leagues distant. As soon as he had received my letter, of which I have already spoken, he sent it on to San Luis, twenty-five leagues farther, and then started out without loss of time, but had not been able to arrive before the death of the *Fr. President.* On arriving at the presidio and learning that he had died the previous afternoon, he remained there long enough to say Mass and then came on to the Mission, accompanied by the Lieutenant-Inspector of both Californias (in the absence of the Governor) and by the Commander of the presidio with almost all the troops, leaving behind only a small number, necessary to act as guard. A little later the Captain and Commander of the packet-boat arrived, accompanied by the Chaplain and other Naval Officers, together with all the crew, except a few left to keep watch on board, and also to take charge of the firing of a cannon every half-hour, to which another cannon at the presidio responded (and in which exercise they were engaged all day long). These shots, being heard at the Mission and being accompanied by the double tolling of the bells, melted the hearts of all.

When all the people had gathered in the church, crowding it full in spite of its ample size, a Vigil was sung with the greatest solemnity, and then I immediately celebrated High Mass, attended by the officers who carried lighted candles. When this was concluded Libera was sung, then the act of burial was left until the afternoon, all the people remaining in the Mission, employing the time in viewing the remains, saying prayers and touching the holy body with rosaries and medals. Bells continued to toll, accompanied by the artillery of sea and land, as if it were the death of some General.

At four o'clock in the afternoon bells called the people together again and they gathered in the church, where a procession was formed, preceded by the cross and candle bearers and composed of all the people, converted Indians, sailors, soldiers, and officers (these latter with candles), in double file, and at the head the Missionaries, the same who were present in the morning. After the singing of the *Responsorio* they took up the body and carried it out, the pall-bearers changing at intervals, as all the officers, both from the army and navy, wished to have the honor of having borne him upon their shoulders. The procession made a circle around the plaza which is quite large. Four stations, or stops, were made and at each one the *Responsorio* was sung.

On returning again to the church the body was again placed upon the same table at the foot of the step of the presbytery. The burial then took place, Lauds being sung with all solemnity in accordance with the Manual of the Order. He was buried within the railing of the presbytery on the Gospel side, and the service was then finished with the singing of the *Responsorio*, although the tears and sobs and wailing of those present almost drowned the voices of the singers. His children were mourning the death of their Father, who had left his own old father and mother in his native land and had come this long distance for no other purpose than to make these his children and the children of God through Holy Baptism. The flock was lamenting the death of its Shepherd who had labored so assiduously to provide them with spiritual food and who had delivered them from the claws of the infernal wolf. His faithful subjects were mourning the loss of their Prelate, the wise, the prudent, the courteous, the diligent, and the model leader, as they all recognized how greatly he would be missed in the development of these Spiritual Conquests.

As soon as the ceremony was over the people crowded around me, asking for some little thing which the Father had aforetime used; but as the things which the Father had had for his own use were so very few, it was not at all easy to satisfy them. In order to avoid the clamor of the crowd in their demands, I brought out the under tunic which the Father had used (although he had not worn it at the last, for as I have said he died wearing only his habit), and I delivered it to the Commander of the packet-boat, telling him to divide it up among the members of his crew in order that they might make from it scapulars, and to bring them that I might bless them on the 4th of September, as, upon that day, which was the seventh day after his death, the Memorial Service was to be celebrated in honor of the late Father. With this they all went away satisfied. To the soldiers of the troop and other particular friends I gave pieces of the under-clothes, cutting them up for this purpose, and I also gave away two handkerchiefs.

One of these was given as a legacy to the Royal Surgeon, Don Juan Garcia, not only as a return for his services, but because of the long acquaintanceship and the peculiar affection he had for the deceased. A few days later, when he returned to the Mission, he thanked me for the little piece of cloth and said: "With this little piece of cloth I expect to cure more people than with all my books and bottles. I had in my hospital a sailor who was suffering from very severe pains in the head, which allowed him no rest at all. I left off administering medicine and tied up his head with the handkerchief. He fell asleep and the next morning awoke sound and well. I hope," he said, "that this little cloth will accomplish more than a whole drug-store." Such was the esteem in which he held the Venerable Father Junípero.

No less highly were his virtues esteemed by Fr. Antonio Paterna, who had known him since the year 1750, when he came out from Spain to the same Mission, although coming in the second section. He was for many years in the Missions of the Sierra Gorda at the same time that the Venerable Father President was there, and since the year 1771 in these Missions, being located at present at the Mission of San Luis Obispo. I sent to advise him, as I have already said, that the Reverend Father President was very sick and that he desired to see him before he died. On receipt of my letter he set out in great haste, spurred by his desire to reach him before he died. But in spite of the great haste which he made in traveling all day and part of the night, he was not able to arrive in time even for the burial, arriving three days after his death and able only to take part in the Memorial Services, as I shall relate in the following chapter.

On account of the fatigue of the journey for this brother of sixty years of age, who had been sick nearly all the way, and was much affected by the heat, which is excessive in the mountains of Santa Lucia in the month of August, he was taken seriously ill a few days after his arrival. This illness was so severe that we were all much alarmed, as was also the Royal Surgeon who said that it was some kind of colic. The doctor did all his profession could suggest and then told us that as it was serious the Father had better prepare himself for death, as indeed he fully expected to follow our Venerable President Fr. Junípero. Upon seeing how exhausted he was from the pains, I said to him, "Father, do you not wish to gird yourself with the hair-cloth of our Venerable Father President? Perhaps God may be pleased to grant you relief." "Yes, Father," he replied, "bring it to me." He girded himself with it, and very shortly felt great relief, so much so that I refrained from administering to him the Viaticum. He went on improving and was shortly quite well, so that when I left that Mission to come back to this one, he was able to say Mass.

The object in relating these incidents is not that I purpose publishing them as miracles, nor in my judgment did these keepsakes have any such miraculous virtue, as it may have been in each case the result of natural causes or simple coincidence. It is not my duty to investigate or make any scrutiny of them, but simply to repeat the protest which I made at the beginning of this book; so that in this particular, as in everything I have written in this Historic Account, and in what I may say hereafter, I keep within the limits of the Brief of His Holiness, Pope Urban VIII, published on the 5th of June, 1631, and of the other Pontifical decrees. I have related these cases simply for the sake of showing what was the general opinion as to the virtues of the Reverend Father Junípero and the esteem in which his exemplary life was held by all kinds of people, and especially by those who had known and dealt with him for many years, so that his fame and the public report of his virtue made them greatly covet some little thing which the Father might have used, as well as led them to be present and to honor his memory after his death, as we shall see in the following chapter.

CHAPTER LX

Devout Memorial Services Which, on the Seventh Day, Were Held in Honor of the Venerable Father Junípero.

BEING desirous of showing that I was a grateful disciple of my dearly beloved and revered Master, I was not satisfied with the honors which we had accorded him at his burial, but planned to repeat the same on the seventh day, wishing to acquire still greater assistance for his soul if, by chance, he should need it, in order to receive in heaven the reward of his Apostolic labors. As soon as I suggested such a thing, the officers of the presidio and the vessel considered themselves as invited to take part in the same, and so on the 4th of September there was an equally large (if not larger) concourse of people at the Mission, of Commanders, Officers, soldiers, sailors and Indians as upon the day of the burial, and the same honors were given with the artillery as those I have mentioned in relation with the first service and which accompanied the double tolling of the bells during all the time the service took place, which consisted of the following:

A Vigil was sung with all possible solemnity; at its conclusion I sang the High Mass assisted by the same Ministers who had taken part on the day of the burial. In the choir Fathers Antonio Paterna and Buenaventura Sitjar conducted the singing, with the help of the Indians whom the deceased Father had instructed in singing. The service was closed with a solemn Response. There were not lacking in this service crying and sobbing, both on the part of the converted Indians as well as of the rest who were present, expressing in this way by their tears how very dear to them the Venerable Father Junípero had been, and also expressing the belief which we all hold that, on account of his heroic virtues which we had all seen in his laborious and exemplary life, he was equally beloved of God, and that from Him he will have received the reward of his Apostolic labors.

When the service was over a great number of scapulars were presented to me which had been made from the tunic of the Venerable Father and which, as I have said, I gave to the Naval Officer to be distributed. These I blessed, taking care to state that the veneration in which they were to be held was due to the fact that they were from the sack-cloth (sayal) of our Holy Father, San Francisco, on which the blessing of the Church had already been placed; and that the fact that these scapulars had been made from the tunic of Father Junípero was only to serve as a keepsake of his Reverence, in order that they might commend him to God that he be allowed to enter into eternal rest. They all said that so they understood it. But not all had yet been satisfied, because not all had received a part of the tunic. Those who had been overlooked were the soldiers, and they asked me for some little trinket to keep in memory of the Father. As there was nothing that I could give them but books, there was no way of satisfying them until I remembered that the Venerable Father had a supply of medals which he was accustomed to give away to his devout people. These I brought out and distributed, so that all went away content and comforted, and with some keepsake to remind them of the Venerable Father Junípero, that they might commend him to God.

But we who had been his subordinates were left with the sad grief and pain of finding ourselves deprived of our beloved Father, prudent Superior, wise and model Teacher; who as a loving Father was loved by all his children, who had kept all of us who were his inferiors comforted by his direction, as a wise Teacher we had rested under his noble decrees and prudent suggestions; and, finally, as a model Teacher he had animated us all with the example of his Apostolic labors to work with pleasure and happiness in this Vineyard of the Lord, which his Apostolic zeal had planted in this remote and uncivilized land, so far away from Christendom that it could be reckoned as indeed the farthest removed from the center of the Church. These and other actions which have been recorded in this Historic Account, all of themselves so glorious, will not permit us ever to forget Father Junípero, and his memory is not only perpetuated in us his subordinates, but also in all the dwellers of this Northern California. So that if I did not fear my words might be interpreted as the note of an impassioned disciple, when led to contemplate my revered Master who left behind in the Old World all worldly honors when he laid aside his doctor's cap and moved to the New World of America, and even here had no rest until he had penetrated into the extreme North, there to live and to die, *in terram alienarum Gentium*, forgetting the world in order that he might give play to his

Apostolic zeal in the conversion of the wretched pagans, I would make bold to say of him what Solomon said of that other wise man (Chap. 39): *Non recedet memoria ejus, et nomen ejus requiretur a generatione in generationem.*[28] His memory will not be blotted out because the works which he did while alive have been stamped upon the inhabitants of this New California who, in spite of the devouring element of time, will perpetuate it to all generations.

For he who accomplishes glorious deeds, although himself as a mortal may be subject to Time and consumed by it, is not so subjected with respect to his glorious deeds; for these, endowed as it were by an Immortal Immunity, are exempt from Time's jurisdiction. The life of Father Junípero, as a subject of Time, came to an end after having extended seventy years, nine months and four days. He worked in the Apostolic ministry one half of his life, and in these Californias sixteen years, after having established a Mission in Old California in which he lived one year; and in this Northern and New California, formerly populated only by pagans, he left fifteen colonies, six of them of Spaniards or *gente de razon*[29] and nine of native Christian converts, baptized either by his Reverence or by his companions.

At the time of his death, those who had been baptized here reached the number of 5800, and with those who had been baptized in Old California the number is more than 7000. He confirmed in this California 5307, and in order to reap this Spiritual Harvest he labored unceasingly, as we have related. These actions, so glorious in themselves, will never be consumed by Time, but rather they will hold up their author in perpetual remembrance of all. *Non recedet memoria ejus.*[30] Nor are we to think that the deceased Father has himself forgotten this Spiritual Conquest, for we see how the promise which he made us a little before his death is being fulfilled. For he said he would ask God in its behalf and that he would intercede for all these pagan people that they might be converted to the Holy Catholic Faith. This promise we now see being fulfilled, as the number of Christians in all the Missions is rapidly increasing since the death of their zealous Founder.

In a letter which I wrote to all the Missionaries telling them of the death of our beloved Prelate, I related for their comfort how a little before he had died he had promised me that he would not forget us, nor to ask God for the Conversion of this immense pagandom which had been left without baptism, in order that they might receive this Holy

Sacrament. In reply to this letter Reverend Father Lector Pablo Mugartegui, Minister of the Mission of San Juan Capistrano, one of the last to be founded in the South (this Father had been his companion in the year 1773 and 1774 in the sea voyage and on the land journey from Mexico City to the port of San Diego, in which time he had learned to appreciate the virtues of our Venerable Prelate and beloved President), wrote:

> I note what you say of the promise which our Venerable Prelate, Father Junípero, *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*,[31] left us, and I may say in reply to your Reverence that we may thank God, for we already see in this Mission how the promise of our Venerable Father President, Fr. Junípero, is being fulfilled. In these four last months we have baptized more gentiles than in the last three preceding years and we attribute these conversions to the intercession of our Venerable Father Junípero who will be asking it of God as he was ever asking it in life, and we piously believe that he is enjoying the presence of God and that with even greater fervor he will continue to ask of God from whom, doubtless, he has obtained the Conversion of these many souls which we have baptized in the four months since his death. These are Indians who have come from afar and use a different dialect from those who are natives of this Mission, so it has been necessary to secure the services of an interpreter from San Gabriel. Seeing that these have come in by themselves from so far to ask for baptism we piously believe that they have been moved by an interior impulse through which our Venerable Father has been able to reach them through the mercies of our God and Father, the God of all comfort, who in the midst of the sorrow which the news of his death has caused us, comforts us with this increased number of his children, which have been brought in to swell the numbers of the spiritual flock.

In the same tenor as that in which Father Lector Mugartegui writes me concerning his Mission of San Juan Capistrano, I believe all the other Missionaries could have written; for when we note that the number of baptized which there were in the Missions at the time of the death of the Venerable Founder was 5800, on the last day of the same year, 1784, as is shown by the Annual Reports which the Missionary Fathers sent me, the number was 6736; from which I learn that in the four months after the death of the Venerable Founder, 936 were baptized, which is greater than the number reached in any entire year since the beginning of the Conquest. The Missionaries wrote me to say that the Conquest continued with great increase, a result which they attribute to the intercession and prayers of the Venerable Father Founder, who in heaven is asking God for the conversion of all this immense pagandom; and in proportion as the Conversions increase so will the memory of its principal conqueror go on extending itself, concerning whom, if we add to his glorious achievements the heroism of his virtues (of which I shall speak in the following chapter), we may sing in his honor that verse of David (Psalm III, verse 7)[32] *In memoria aeterna erit Justus.* For, as a diligent laborer in the Vineyard of the Lord, and as a man exemplary in all his activities, his memory shall be an everlasting remembrance before God.

THE LAST CHAPTER

In Which a Recapitulation is Made of the Virtues Which Shone Forth in a Peculiar Way from This Servant of God, Fr. Junípero.

IF the preceding history of the Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Fr. Junípero has been read with any degree of reflection, the reader will have discovered that his laborious and exemplary life was like a beautiful and charming field, carpeted with every variety of flowers, which are his excellent virtues. In order to bring this history to a close, I purpose in this chapter (which I shall divide into sections) to sum up the more notable of the virtues which have been observed in him, and which his humility was not able to hide, and which, in order to fulfill the teachings of the Divine Master, ought indeed to be made public so that the younger Christians whom he converted and added to the fold of Holy Church, on observing them, may be led to practice them and to praise God for them. But those other virtues which did not conduce to this end he always assiduously tried to hide even from his most intimate companions and from those who were nearest to him and most enjoyed his confidence, observing to the very letter that precept which our Lord suggests in St. Matthew's Gospel (VI, 3): *Nesciat sinistra tua, quid faciat dextera tua.*[23] For this reason I will not take up a study of these inner virtues. For although the intimacy and the love which I had for him dates from the year 1739, and although beginning with the year 1749 I was his confessor as long as he lived (and if there were times when under obedience to orders we were separated in the fulfillment of Apostolic ministry, he always tried, when we found ourselves together again, to make General Confession concerning that period, renewing those which he might have made in the interval), although I say this holy exercise lasted for thirty-four years, I am still unable to say anything concerning his inner life, but I shall be able to speak only of his outward life, simply because his profound humility could not cover it up, and because he fully carried out the injunction which Jesus Christ has given us: *Luceat lux vestra, etc.*,[24] which according to Saint Gregory is the same as holding lighted lamps in one's hand in order that those who may see these outward acts of virtue may be moved to praise God as the author of them: "*Lucernas quippe ardentes in manibus tenemus, cum per bona opera proximis nostris lucis exempla monstramus.*"[85]

But even in this matter there will not be room to tell all, and I must content myself with relating just a few acts of the Virtues which have a certain heroic lustre; and to this end I note, in accord with the Auditors of the Holy Rota in the case of St. Peter Regalado, that in two ways may one possess Virtues in a heroic degree. The one in that a man strives after them in a manner which would demand special Divine aid, and these may be called Purifying Virtues; the other in that a man has already obtained the end of these desires in as far as that is possible in this mortal life, and these may be called the Virtues of the Purified Mind, such as were those of the Virgin, Our Lady, and of a few notable saints.

I shall not speak of these latter, for as these same Auditors tell us, they are found in very few saints; I shall speak only of the former, concerning which Cardinal Aguirre (Tract. de Virtutibus et vitiis dist. 12, q. 3, sec. 5, num. 49), after having said that they cannot be known by themselves but only by the effects, the deeds or external actions, and words, even as Christ indicates when he says *Ex fructibus eorum, etc.*,[86] goes on to say: "*Quisquis non praecepta solum, sed concilia Evangelica semper, et toto animi conatu deprehenditur observasse usque ad ultimum vitae momentum neque unquam declinasse ab ea difficili et angusta via, verbo, facto, aut omissione, idque judicio communi hominum tantam vitae perfectionem admirantium in mortali homine, his sane probabiliter creditur fuisse praeditus virtutibus per se inditis in gradu heroico; immo etiam virentibus acquisitis in eodem gradu.*" ("Whosever is found always and with all the energy of his mind to have observed not only the Commandments, but also the Evangelical Counsels, to the last moment of his life, and never to have swerved from that difficult and narrow path by word, deed, or omission, and that, too, according to the general opinion of men who admire such perfection of life in mortal man, he indeed with probability is believed to have been endowed with the infused virtues in an heroic degree, and also with the acquired virtues in the same degree."[87])

The effects of these virtues Pope Benedict XIV sets forth in the following words (De Serv. Dei Beatif., cap. 22 of Book 3): "*Ut sit heroica efficere debet, ut eam habens operetur expedite, prompte, et delectabiliter supra communem modum ex fine supernaturali, cum abnegatione operantis, et affectuum subjectione.*"[88]

That is to say, in order that a Virtue be heroic it is necessary that it move the one who has it to act with promptness and expedition over and above the common ways of men and for a supernatural purpose, with great self-denial and proper subjection of all one's own affections and desires. Examples of men of this sort, such as are given by the above mentioned Cardinal Aguirre, and by the Most Holy Father, Benedict XIV, will serve me as illustration in order to recognize the qualities of the Virtues of our Venerable Father. To begin I will set forth first his Humility, which Saint Augustine calls the foundation of the whole structure of the spiritual edifice, and I will try to make a design of that structure which the Venerable Father Junípero erected by the exercise of these virtues following the outline of Fortunato Scaccho, quoted by the Most Holy Father, Benedict XIV (Book 3 de Canoniz. SS. cap. 24, num. 48), who says: "This virtue of humility is so necessary and essential in the imitators of Christ that according to the dogmas which Jesus Christ taught, we believe it to be the foundation for the whole spiritual superstructure as set forth in the law of the Gospel. And as many acts of virtue in an heroic degree are necessary in any Believer and Catholic in order to attain unto perfect holiness, therefore whenever we look for the proofs of the holiness of any Servant of God, the first thing we search for is his Humility."

PARAGRAPH I

His Deep Humility.

It is the opinion of Saint Bernard, as cited by St. Thomas of Villanueva (Conc. I de S. Martino), that *Humility* is a virtue by which a man, having true knowledge concerning himself, esteems himself as despicable, recognizing how miserable and contemptible he is because he has a deep and clear knowledge of himself. This most noble virtue the Divine Master set before his Disciples and Apostles, both in word and example: "*Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde*": "Learn of me for I am meek and humble of heart." This divine teaching so impressed itself upon the humble heart of His servant, Fr. Junípero, that, when the Lord called him by means of His Divine Grace to Apostolic work, he immediately proposed in his heart to carry out the injunction, following His doctrine as far as it was possible to do so. And he put it into practice when he began his office of preaching by removing the sandals from his feet in imitation of Jesus Christ, as the Venerable Mother, Sister Maria de Jesus de Ágreda tells us in her "Mystica Cuidad" (Part II, Book 4, cap. 28, num. 685), and by conforming himself to the humble use of the hemp sandals which he had used before coming to the College where he began to use, in imitation of his colleagues, the ordinary sandals, but which, when he started out for the Missions of the Sierra Gorda he discarded, taking up again the use of the hemp sandals, which he was accustomed to wear until quite worn out.

Pope Benedict XIV, in speaking of the acts of this virtue of humility, counts among other things the sincere denial of oneself by means of which one comes to regard himself as a worthless servant as far as good works are concerned, as St. Luke tells in cap. 17, verse 10, "*Cum feceritis omnia quae praecepta sunt, etc.*"[39] To such a degree did Father Junípero consider himself as an unprofitable servant among the other Missionaries, that when he returned to his Mission, after visiting all the others, he would often break forth with these humble and earnest words: "I have come back very much edified by the fervent zeal of all my colleagues and by the great progress they are making in their Missions in both temporal and spiritual things. Indeed, this is the Mission that seems to be most behind," as we have already said in Chapter XLIX. This was true not only concerning his activities among the Missions to the pagans but also in his Missions among the faithful. He was always reckoning himself as quite useless and being edified by the fruit he saw from the work of the other Missionaries. But the truth of the matter is that his Reverence gathered more fruit than they all, and many were the conversions that followed from his eloquent sermons, though he reckoned himself as much less eloquent than any of them, often speaking of himself as unprofitable and without skill, lamenting his defect in this respect which hindered, in his opinion, the greater glory of God and the helpful influence of the College, and in punctual fulfillment of his duty in obedience.

After having labored with great enthusiasm and fervor in the conversion of the people of the Sierra Gorda, his virtue of obedience brought him to occupy the place of Vicar in the choir in which he offered to sing. He accepted the assignment with all humility and submission, deprecating himself at the same time on account of his unfitness for it because he did not know how to *sol fa*, as we have said. At another time when obedience made him "Master of Novices" he deplored his worthlessness, but in order to be obedient he accepted the charge with the intention of exercising himself not as a teacher but as a Novice, practicing everything like the latest arrival in the novitiate of the College, as we have also noted. He added to this all that his fervent spirit dictated, without being troublesome to his novices, of whom there are some still living in the College who count themselves happy and privileged in having been the pupils of so exemplary a Master.

Another act of humility in the Servants of God is mentioned by Benedict XIV; namely, that of feeling a desire to escape from the honors and applause which may be offered and to refuse to receive dignities except when compelled to do so by the orders of superiors. We have already spoken of how this man renounced the applause which he had won in his native land and beloved Province and how he was not content with that but as soon as we had gone on board the vessel he said to me at once: "Let us have done with all this matter of respect and superiority between us two; we will have no more of 'Your Lordship' and 'Your Reverence,' as we are in every respect equals." Whenever it came to doing any work which presented itself to be done, he always considered himself the less capable of us two, very much to my shame and confusion oftentimes and the wonderment of those who saw the action, so that no sooner did any one set eyes on him, were he ecclesiastic or secular, and even those of highest dignity and of religious Orders, than they all formed the opinion of him that he was very humble, learned, and holy.

This was the opinion that all the friars of the monastery of Málaga formed of him. This was the first place where we set foot after leaving Mallorca. And he who most noticed his humility and his knowledge of literature was the Reverend F. Guardian, Lector Emeritus of that Province of Granada, who, wishing to verify the opinion he had formed of Fr. Junípero, sought to show him honor; but he soon discovered he was not in error as to the opinion he had formed at first. As soon as the humble Father perceived the excess of affection which that Prelate sought to show him, he immediately determined to separate himself and got me to go back with him to the vessel. In the same way the Reverend Commissary of the Missions, as soon as we arrived at the convent at Cadiz, formed a high opinion of him, as did also the Fathers from the Commission of our College, as well as those of the commission from the College of Querétaro who were in the other convent with their Commissary, who was at the same time Commissary for all Missions and Missionary Colleges.

A very similar opinion of him was held by the Captain and the officers of the ship, as soon as they saw him come on board, and similarly the members of the crew, down to the very lowest. The same was true of all the Dominican Fathers and their President, who had been a professor at Salamanca, and who immediately formed quite an intimate acquaintance with the Venerable Father because he esteemed him above all the rest. The same thing is true of the secular people wherever he met them on the road, or in the towns, or in the inns where he stopped, not only when he was engaged in his work of conducting a Mission but even when he was going through on a journey, as he always left behind him a great reputation for humility and sanctity. Many remembered him after years and years, as his face made a deep impression on them. Rather let us say that it was his virtues which he had imprinted upon his whole humble countenance. It is evident that these were immediately recognized by the illustrious Bishops of Puebla de los Angeles and of Oaxaca or Antequera when he went to preach in that city with five other Missionaries from our College. When the six of them passed through the city of Puebla they went to see His Lordship in order to obtain his blessing and the right to hear Confessions in the towns of his diocese, through which they must pass before arriving at Oaxaca. As soon as this illustrious Prelate had set his eyes on the Venerable Father Junípero (who had not acted as spokesman, as he was not the president of the little band, but another who was older), the Bishop asked him what his name was. Then he turned to his secretary and said: "To this Father you are to give general and perpetual license to hear the Confessions of men, women and nuns, even of cloistered nuns. To the others you are to give license to hear the Confessions of the men and women only."

His Lordship of Oaxaca, as soon as he saw him granted him the same right and recommended to him that he conduct a Mission for the benefit of the entire clergy behind closed doors. This he did with the edification of all and with great fruit, he being esteemed by all as very learned and equally eloquent and prudent, as has been indicated in Chapter X.

Though they had little opportunity to converse with him, they formed an equally high opinion of his knowledge of literature and of his profound wisdom. He was held in the same regard by all the Friars of the College from the very first day that he arrived there, for they considered him very virtuous. But what they most praised in him was his most profound humility when they saw him converted into a choir novice, reading with great willingness at the table, as if it were the same as reading from a chair in the University, and at the same time serving them (as has been said) as if he were the least member of the College.

We had but recently arrived when the Bishop, noting his humility and wishing to put his knowledge of letters to the test, assigned to him the preaching of the sermon in honor of San Fernando, the Patron Saint of the College. In doing so he expounded the text, Psalm 45: "*Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum: dico ego opera mea Regi*"—"My heart hath uttered a good word: I speak my works to the King," and then proceeded to a narration of all the life and virtues of that Saint, filling not only his whole audience but also the whole community with wonderment at the marvelous details and minute references to his life and the way he wove them in with the verses of the Psalm, causing many to regret that a man so learned should seek to hide himself in a corner by giving himself to the work of preaching to pagans, for which Missions obedience had already appointed him. In order to prevent his going many of the old Fathers and the Councilors of the College went to the Reverend Father

Guardian, to ask that he be not sent away from the College. But the Prelate, recognizing the very enthusiastic zeal and fervor of the Venerable Father Junípero, was unwilling to deprive him of a career which he so greatly longed to enter; namely, that of converting the gentiles. He not only refused to consent to his remaining in the College, but he named him President of the holy Missions, as has been already said. However, when Father Junípero learned of the title and Patent of President, he immediately went in all humility to the Prelate to decline the honor, alleging as a reason his lack of experience and skill in such activities. His appeal was so effective that the Reverend Father Guardian had to accept his resignation, and so left the humble Father completely satisfied.

But a year and a half later when in said College a chapter was held in which the Reverend Father Fr. Bernardo Pumeda, formerly Master of the Novices and great expert in Ascetics, was elected Guardian, the Patent of President was again sent to Father Junípero, and he was commanded under obedience to accept the position. This he did and served for three years, and although the office is one in which limits are not set as to time of service, on the election of a new Guardian, he again resigned, saying that if it was an office of honor, it was right that all should enjoy it, and for the same reason if it was one of labor it should be allowed to pass from one to another. His resignation was accepted, and the humble Father was quite pleased to be without the dignity of the position and free to exercise himself in humility, which he did, not being satisfied with merely instructing the recent converts and performing the usual round of spiritual duties, as we have related in Chapter VII, but he also exercised himself in the temporal exercises, not disdaining to fulfill the most humble and lowly tasks, such as doing the work of a *peon*, or helper of the mason, or the work of carrying stone for the building of the church, or the mixing of the mortar with the lads as if he were one of them, and working with the men in carrying the lumber for the building.

He would also help the masons by working at filling in the chinks in the walls when they had placed the larger stones in their places. He wore a most humble dress in this employment, his habit was torn and he girded himself with a piece of old cloth, in spite of the fact that it was in a hot climate. On his feet he wore a piece of rawhide such as the Indians of that region use, and which in their language they call *apats nipts*, which means the same as the other word *guaracha*, sandal. The result was that all who saw him were edified, even his former Master in Spirituality who had lately arrived at the College, the aforesaid Father Pumeda, who, when he saw him one day working in the midst of a squad of more than twenty Indians who were carrying a heavy beam, and the Father, in order to help, thrust his cloth garment under the beam so that he could lift with his shoulder, as he was shorter than the rest and could scarcely reach, was much surprised to see what he was doing and called to me to come quickly to see, supposing that it would be a surprise to me. He said: "Behold your teacher, how he goes the Way of the Cross, and see what he wears!" To this I replied that those things were of daily occurrence. I might tell of many other similar incidents in proof of his humility, but I will omit them in order not to be tiresome.

If through his humility he was able to escape from the prelacy in the work of the Sierra Gorda, he could not do so in regard to the work in California, as he was obliged to bear this burden for seventeen years, or until his death. The greater the honor which came to him, the greater was his repugnance for it, and he would make use of all the means in his power, which humility and prudence suggested, in order to avoid every occasion of ostentation. At all the chapters he was usually elected Guardian, and in one of them when he was assured that the election would be confirmed, he did all he could to be absent from the College at the time of the meeting, which was held while he was active in Mexico securing better attention for the California Missions. Although it was a long time before he could go north, as the vessel was not to sail from San Blas for many months, he ran away from the honor by going on to San Blas ahead of time, and so avoided the danger of having to accept the office of Guardian of the College.

Mention has been made of his efforts to flee from the greater honors which had been prophesied, as is also evident from his Apostolic zeal for the increase of the California establishments. Two years before his death he found himself in great straits on account of the backward condition of the Missions, as those who should have given him warmest support and assistance were doing the contrary, hindering and seeking to destroy the Missions both in spiritual and temporal matters. After speaking to me of the distress which this situation caused his heart, I said to him: "My dear Father Lector, it would not be a bad thing, but rather a good thing and proper if you would write to His Excellency, Don Galvez, who is at present prime minister and has much influence with the King, and let him know in what condition we are, and, seeing that

His Excellency was the first promoter of this Conquest, he might intercede with His Majesty for their conservation and increase." To this he replied with a tender sigh: "If that gentleman were not able to do so much as he is able to do I would write to him, but as he can do so much I should not like him to know that I am still alive. Let us commend it to God who can do all things." This expression indicated that he had in mind what had been talked about for some years; namely, that a great honor was awaiting him, and in order to escape from it he preferred that he should be considered as having already died.

II. THE CARDINAL VIRTUES

After having laid the foundation of the spiritual edifice on the virtue of humility, there remains the work of raising the strong columns which are to sustain the beautiful superstructure of Christian Perfection. It is the opinion of Saint Bernard that these columns are the four cardinal virtues, so called because they are, as it were, the pivotal points in perfection. The first of these virtues is

PRUDENCE

This is the virtue which regulates all the rest and therefore if the others rise to a degree of heroism, this one must also. This is the salt which serves to season all, and in order to season so as to satisfy all palates, it can easily be seen how very heroic must be the virtue of Prudence. Speaking of it Saint Anthony, Abbot, in a spiritual conference with his children after hearing their opinions, gave his own as follows: "Prudence is the most necessary of all the virtues because it teaches us to choose between the two extremes which are nearly always vicious." This most noble virtue shone forth most notably in the Servant of God, Fr. Junípero. This was evident in the careful direction of his own acts and of those of others. He ruled his own spirit, having united himself to the Supreme Good, avoiding all precipices in order not to fall into perils. He also illumined with discretion his fellowmen who consulted him as to their doubts, both in the Confessional and outside of it; and all were edified and consoled by his wise and prudent opinions which ever seemed to have in view their spiritual good.

He was simple in his modesty and his humility was without affectation, without show, without haughtiness; his devotion was without hypocrisy. His religious plainness was without any vicious relaxation. He was always most docile and distrustful of himself in the making of decisions and ever ready to consult his companions, even when they were of much less age and experience. This he would justify by using the old saying that "four eyes see more than two." This was his rule, especially in serious matters, of which there were many in the Spiritual Conquest of the Sierra Gorda, and more so in the Californias, especially in Upper California. Whenever he could he would consult with the Prelate of the College and with its Councilors, sending them copies of the letters which he received from Their Excellencies, the Viceroys, Commander-Generals and Governors of the Provinces, at the same time forwarding his replies that they might, before being sent to their destination, be read by the Prelate and the Fathers of the Council. He was willing to submit to their prudent opinions, on account of his distrust of himself, and he would beg them to strike out any part which they thought it prudent to suppress. In this way he put himself on the very lowest level by admitting the opinion of others, in order to allow room for true distinctions between the false and the true, the evil and the good, the hurtful and the helpful, by giving room for the opinions of others.

In spite of the fact that God had endowed him with especial gifts of nature, of intelligence, circumspection, caution, experience, sharpness of wit, on account of his profound humility he did not recognize himself as possessing these talents and would appeal to the judgment of others, especially that of the Prelate. With this help and his own diligence he attained continual success in all the very serious matters which presented themselves in these Spiritual Conquests, leaving them finally in such a flourishing condition, after so short a period of labor, that they have been the wonder of all who have seen them or read of them.

It is no less a proof of his heroic prudence that he maintained his position for so many years as President and Superior over a Community which was widely distributed over a region two hundred leagues or more in length, in which the workers were far apart and far removed from the supervision of their Prelate and who might have become lukewarm in their service. But such was the prudence of the fervent Prelate that he always kept his subordinates happy and content under his orders so that there never was the slightest complaint raised against this revered Superior. He always brought it about that his subordinates were well satisfied with the Mission to which he assigned them, and he was accustomed to visit them once a year when this was possible. With this visit they were always greatly consoled, made happy and zealous in their Apostolic ministry, resting under this leafy shade so happily that we may say of them what the holy text says of the Prophet Elijah (Chap. 19, 1st Book of Kings, verse 5); namely, that "he lay down and slept beneath the shade of a Juniper tree"—"*Projecitque se et obdormivit in umbra junipero.*" For although it was a tree of no great height and we were all stretched out over this region of more than two hundred leagues, in spite of the fact that the shade is supposedly small in comparison with the size of the tree, it covered us all with its continuous and efficacious counsels which were ever being sent out by his well-cut pen. And these counsels not only served to direct us but also to comfort and inspire us, and others with us, in the work of the Conversion of the gentiles and in the spiritual and temporal development of the Missions.

This very especial gift of counsel, which was a fruit of his prudence, was not only noticeable to us, his subordinates, who were in close contact with this Servant of God, but it also was helpful to as many as consulted him. All were edified and convinced of the value of his advice when he made them see the right and freed them from their doubts.

JUSTICE

The second of the cardinal virtues is Justice, the second column in the structure of the spiritual edifice, concerning which Saint Anselm (in his work *Cur Deus homo*) says that it is "a liberty of the manly spirit which gives to each one his own worth: to the superior it gives reverence; to the equal, peace and concord; to the inferior, teaching and advice; obedience to God, sanctification to oneself, patience towards the enemy and a practical compassion for the needy:" "*Justitia est animi libertas, tribuens unicuique suam propriam dignitatem: majori reverentiam, pari concordiam, minori disciplinam, Deo obedientiam, sibi sanctimoniam, inimico patientiam, egeno operosam misericordiam.*"

This virtue, with all its acts, to which Saint Anselm refers, was possessed and practiced by the Venerable Father Junípero in that he treated all in accordance with the worth of each one, giving to the superior all reverence, to his equals peace and concord, and to his inferiors instruction and advice; to God he gave all due obedience, to himself rectitude in all his acts, to the adversary who hindered his most earnest desires, patience, and to the poor and needy practical charity.

In his whole life he tried to show all due reverence first as a child to his parents, and later in the Order to all his superiors, revering them with the utmost submission, obeying both in what they suggested as well as in what they commanded. In this point he was conspicuous in his desire to not fail even in the very least in carrying out the will of the Prelate. We have sufficient proof of this in the letter which he wrote me from the town of Tepic and of which there appears a copy in Chapter XXXIV.

It is also manifest in what he did with respect to one of the Benefactors both of the College and of the new Conquest. While he was busy in the work of founding the Mission of Our Father, San Francisco, a letter came, asking him to send a personal report concerning all the affairs of that port and of what had taken place in the founding of the two Missions and of the fort or garrison, he being asked to send an extended reply. At the same time he received a letter from the Prelate in which the latter told him not to give out any information to seculars. This command he complied with, sending along the letter which he had received from the Benefactor, to the Prelate, and he adds this: "I have received your letter at the same time that I received this letter and I am so ready to obey your orders that I have not answered the Benefactor or acknowledged the receipt of his letter; but it will greatly please me, now that your Reverence has been fully informed concerning everything, if you will satisfy the request of the Benefactor and please excuse me to him for not having written directly on account of my being very much occupied, as indeed I am."

Notwithstanding the fact that from the contents of this letter the Father President might easily have understood that this man was not included in the restriction made but that reference was to private individuals, he did not so construe the tenor of it, but preferred to give it a literal interpretation as if he were asked to write only to the Prelate. But he shortly afterwards knew that he need not to have been so particular, for in the reply from the Prelate he saw that he had not written with the intention of making such close restriction, but had intended that he might inform privately, about the whole truth, those persons whom, as President, he might consider it expedient to write to for the best welfare of the Conquest, but not to individuals who might give out incorrect information, and who are accustomed to repeat what they hear from the soldiers, who indeed have no formal knowledge of affairs.

On another occasion he also received a letter from the Prelate in which the order came to suspend the Channel Missions for the reasons which were given, at the time when already one of the three had been founded. Now as he was so very exact in not wanting to vary in the slightest from the wish of the Prelate he began to fear that it would be such a variation if the Mission were continued and he doubted whether he ought not to order it suspended. He could scarcely rest until he had secured the opinion of the Missionaries nearest at hand, and until these had given it as their opinion that the Mission already founded before the receiving of the order was not to be included, but only the two on which work had not yet been begun, as has been fully explained in Chapter LV.

He always tried to maintain great peace and concord among all, treating not only his equals but even the most insignificant person with great courtesy and fatherly love, giving to all counsel and instruction, directing them all toward heaven with his salutary counsels and his clear doctrine, as has been related at length in this story of his life. In all and through all, he tried ever to keep in view the holy law of God, the Divine Commandments, those of the Holy Church, and of our Seraphic and Apostolic Rule, observing all of these precepts in order not to fall short in his obedience to God and conserving for himself Justice, Sanctification, and True Piety; *sibi sanctimoniam.*

He was so assiduous in the practice of this virtue in all his actions and deeds, and apparently also in his thoughts, that everything which could be seen, or heard, or experienced in him, seemed all to be addressed to God and for the good of his neighbor. His conversations and talks were always edifying, and if persons not present were mentioned and something was said which might lessen the warmth of his charity toward his fellow, he would always try to change the conversation, or else would say clearly "Let us not talk about that, as it distresses me." So that we might say of him what was said, by Pliny, of the shade of the tree whose name he bears in a quotation made by Nicholas of Lyra (Lib. 3, Reg. Cap. 19, v.5.), namely, that "it drives from it snakes and all other poisonous animals:" "*Juniperus arbor est crescens in desertis, cujus umbram serpentes fugiunt, et ideo in umbra ejus homines secure dormiunt.*" Such indeed was our experience when in the presence of Our Junípero, for in his presence nothing was heard and no word could be said which was not edifying. And if any one forgot himself he immediately showed in his face such a repugnance to such conversation that it served as a means of correction and the conversation was immediately changed, passing on to the theme which he seemed always to have in his heart and mind, namely, the increase of the Conversion of gentiles.

Another act of the virtue of Justice, Saint Anselm tells us, is that of having patience with our enemy: *inimico patientiam*. This servant of God had no other enemy than he whom he recognized as, or who showed himself to be, an enemy of God, or whom he saw was trying by his acts to hinder the Propagation of the Faith and the Conversion of heathendom. Toward the former he showed his kindness through loving admonitions, trying with homilies and sermons to make them the friends of God; toward the latter he never showed any sign that he was offended at them but tried little by little to get them to work as helpers in this holy task. Through his great patience he was frequently able to obtain the end sought in many cases, but with others who would not help, he showed no sign of feeling, but would relieve his own sorrow by saying: "It cannot yet be the will of God to have it so, the harvest is not yet ripe, God will dispose in accord with his own good pleasure." So he tried to do good to as many as he was able to touch.

A case in point that illustrates this was the experience of the official who obliged him to make the laborious journey to Mexico and back in search of more favorable dispositions for the Propagation of the Faith and the conservation of the new establishments and whom the Royal Council determined to retire from command. When he [the deposed Commander] was about to leave Monterey, after the arrival of the new Commander, fearing he might not be well received by His Excellency, he got one of the Missionaries who stood high in the esteem of the President to ask him for a letter of recommendation to the Viceroy. He [Serra] replied at once that he would do so with pleasure and carried out his promise with such kindness and at the same time with such secrecy that the person recommended did not know what was the content of the letter as he had sent it sealed and through other channels. However, on arriving at Mexico he felt the effects of the letter, for His Excellency put him in charge of a company, with the title of Captain over them. His Excellency, much edified by this act of kindness on the part of Father Junípero, judging that, having forgotten what this man had made him suffer in the long journey of coming and going from Mexico, wanted to secure his promotion as a return for these sufferings, as well as for all the other things he had been made to bear. These were the merits which his Reverence had gained in this Conquest. All this he read in the letter which His Excellency sent him in reply, and which I have at hand. It reads as follows:

> "In your letter of the 19th of June last, your Reverence expresses sorrow at seeing the Official who had previously been in command deposed from his position at the head of the [California] establishments, and incited by your fervent piety, you recommend his merit, applying to him the services which you yourself have accomplished, in order to give greater value to the work he did. This Officer arrived here sick, but as soon as there is an opportunity he will have reason to know from my action how very deserving I consider the pious, honest, and religious act which your Reverence has shown me, and how desirous I am to contribute in a way that will be satisfactory to the interests of this person. May God keep your Reverence many years. Mexico, 2nd of January, 1775. Knight Commander Antonio Bucareli y Ursua. To the Reverend Father Fr. Junípero Serra."

Other similar incidents I might repeat but I will omit them in order to give space to his remaining virtues, passing on to the last action of justice to which Saint Anselm refers: *egeno operosam misericordiam.*[40] In both the Missions in which this tireless laborer worked so gloriously, that is, in the Sierra Gorda, among the Pame nation, and in Old and New Californias, he had very open fields in which to exercise this aspect of the virtue of justice: *egeno operosam misericordiam.* For the inhabitants of both regions are all of them such poor, miserable and needy creatures, both in matter of food and in matter of clothing to cover their nakedness, that he always had abundant opportunity to exercise the works of charity, both in spiritual and in temporal things. He not only employed all his talents in the work of Evangelization, instruction, and other spiritual ministries, but also all his efforts were directed in securing for them food and clothing, spending all the stipend which His Majesty allowed for the Missionaries. And as this was not sufficient he used to ask alms from benefactors and also apply the Masses for this end. And in order that his converts might obtain help in more abundance and with greater permanence, he instructed them in the work of planting in order that they might learn how to harvest the principal cereals for food and also to make themselves cloth for clothing, as we have already said.

The thing which most distressed his tender heart was not to have anything to give to the poor Indians in their great need, and then he would try to console them with loving words. [When he had it] he would himself distribute food, giving out what he needed for himself. He did the same with the little cloth he had; with his own hands he used to cut out the shirts and skirts, as well as the clouts and drawers for the boys, and with his own fingers he became clever in sewing, so that he could instruct the converts. Thus they themselves shortly learned how to sew. These activities occupied him during all the time that he was in the ministry, as up to within three days of his death I myself saw him occupied with this task of cutting out and distributing cloth.

Four days before he died, when we happened to be sitting together, an old Indian woman came in, who was more than eighty years old. She was a Christian and as soon as she had saluted us, the Venerable Father arose, and going into the little room where he slept, he brought out a wide blanket which he gave to the old woman. I smiled and said: "Is she going to pay you for the chickens?" He smiled in return and said, "Yes." The explanation of our merriment is this, that this old Indian woman, when she was still a pagan, and the Mission of San Carlos was first founded and it had only one hen with her little chicks which she was raising, she taught her little nephew to kill the chickens with his bow and arrow. Then they ate them between the two. When the theft was discovered, they gave the old woman the nickname of "the old chicken-woman" and this was the reason of our laughter. But he, none the less, carried out his merciful intention, and it was charity of this sort that explains how it was that when he came to die there was to be found in his bed on the bare boards nothing more than half a blanket, as we have noted elsewhere.

FORTITUDE

In speaking of this heroic virtue, Saint Ambrose, who is quoted by the Seraphic Doctor, San Buenaventura (Lib 2. Phca. cap. 31), says that "he is strong who comforts himself in the midst of pain:" *Est fortis qui se in dolore aliquo consolatur*. Great and incessant were the pains which the Servant of God, Fr. Junípero, suffered on account of the sore in his foot and the swelling in his leg with which he was afflicted from the year 1749 until his death, as we have already seen; yet he never complained, nor did he show any sign of suffering except when he was hindered in his Apostolic journeys, or when the malady hindered his celebrating the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, as we have seen at the time of his leaving Old California on his way North with the expedition. This was the only time he ever asked for medical treatment, in order that he might accomplish his purpose of being present when the Holy Cross was raised in the first port of San Diego, and this medical treatment was that which is usually applied to pack-animals, as we have related in Chapter XV, page 68. On all other occasions, in spite of the severe pains which he suffered, it seems that he found consolation in them to such a degree that he forgot to ask for medical treatment. And at times when medical advice and treatment were to be had, as when he went to Mexico, and also when the vessels came to these new settlements bringing royal surgeons, who gladly offered to treat him, he would reply to them "Never mind, it is an old sore and would need a long treatment;" and when one of his beloved companions insisted, on one of these occasions, he replied: "*Medicinam carnalem nunquam exhibui corpori meo*", "I have never applied carnal medicine to my body."

He followed the same course in regard to the severe pains in his chest, from which he suffered, produced no doubt by the blows from a stone which he used to give himself in the acts of contrition at the close of his sermons, as well as by the act of extinguishing against his breast the lighted torch, in emulation of San Juan Capistrano, who, on putting it out, used to also pluck out a piece of his skin. From this he was several times quite seriously injured, but none of these pains ever led him to open his lips for the slightest complaint, or ask for medical treatment, for it seems that in these pains he found consolation, the effect of his fortitude: "*Est fortis qui se in dolore aliquo consolatur.*"

Saint Ambrose goes on to speak concerning this virtue and says: "It is certainly with reason that that is called fortitude which makes a man conquer himself and repress his wrath:" "*Et revera jure ea fortitudo vocatur, qua unusquisque seipsum vincit iram continet.*" The Venerable Father conquered himself by repressing every tendency to wrath, so that it seemed as though nothing could affect him, except when he saw how God was offended by sinners and when he noted how the Propagation of the Faith was hindered. Even this, which might have moved him, he repressed with the most fervent acceptance of the will of God, expressing his resignation with a sigh and these words: "Let us leave it all to God. May his Holy Will be done." Such heroic acts as these seemed to completely suppress in him all that was irascible, leaving him quiet and calm as if nothing had happened. And shortly afterward he would see the effect of this resignation, either in the Conversion of sinners who had been admonished by this Servant of God and who would come and surrender themselves at his feet, asking for Confession, or the pagans, moved from On High, would come to him asking for Holy Baptism.

The same Saint Ambrose goes on to speak of the strong man, the man adorned with the virtue of fortitude, and he says that "he is not softened by any flattery or turned from the path which he has chosen:" *Nullis illecebris emollitur, atque inflectitur.* In this manner did this man, from the time he was called by God to come and give his life for the Conversion of the pagans. As soon as the Fathers who were then at the head of that holy Province observed his call and saw that he already had received the Patent, they invited him not to leave the Province, saying that the meeting of the Chapter was at hand and they would make him *Custos*, in spite of the fact that he was young and that he already held a professorship. But, they said, that these were not really objections and incompatible with such an election. But neither these inducements nor other higher offices which they might have presented to him, nor the great esteem in which he was held, both by those of the Province and by others, were sufficient to change his purpose, or to make him turn back from his holy calling, nor was it of less consideration that he must suffer the great sorrow of bidding good by to his old father and mother. But arming his heart with fortitude he left all these things, that he might devote himself to the Conversion of souls. So that we can say of this Servant of God, as Saint Ambrose says, "*Nullis illecebris emollitur, atque inflectitur.*"

Saint Ambrose concludes his definition of this heroic virtue by saying that "the strong man is not disturbed by adversity, nor is he puffed up by prosperity:" "*Non adversis perturbatur, non extollitur secundis.*" Such was his fortitude that whenever cases of this sort came up, either favorable or adverse to the Conquest, he always showed himself as immovable, always of the same mind, with his heart and trust placed in the Lord, who usually consoled him by bringing to pass the things which he desired, after having put his fortitude to the test. A case in point is the one we have related concerning the beginning of this Conquest in the first Mission of San Diego, given in Chapter XX, on page 91 when, although the Commander with all the members of the expedition had determined to abandon the first Mission and the port of

San Diego and to retire to Old California on account of the lack of provision, setting the day for the departure if no vessel arrived, on St. Joseph's Day, this Servant of God determined that he would not leave his post, although all the rest should retire, because he could not bear the great pain and distress which the decision of the Commander of the expedition had caused. Instead he had absolute trust in God that the retreat would not take place, as in fact it did not, for on the same day of the Holy Patriarch, the vessel was seen and the decision was reversed, and that the Conquest was carried happily forward was due to his magnanimity and fortitude.

By means of this same virtue he brought about the rebuilding of this same Mission of San Diego after it had been burned by the savage pagans who had so inhumanly taken the life of one of the Missionaries, Fr. Luis Jayme, as has been fully related in Chapter XL. Although he found in the Commander determined opposition to the reconstruction of the Mission, and was denied the escort of soldiers, this fervent Father was not dismayed, but continued to cry unto God for help, and the Lord comforted him on the day of Saint Michael. I might refer to several other cases, but I shall omit them, as I believe I have said enough to show that this ardent zeal for the Propagation of the Faith never let him go backward, but led him to overcome every difficulty which presented itself and secured for him the holy object which he desired. Oftentimes his zeal seemed to others to be indiscreet, but the very favorable outcome which always followed in favor of the Propagation of the Faith and without the least accident, led them to see it was not indiscreet zeal, but such as was very acceptable to God, who knoweth well the heart of each.

The fear of losing his life at the hand of the savages never made him turn back: but he was undoubtedly restrained by a consideration of the evil effects which might be produced by losing his life at the hands of those to whom he had come for the purpose of giving spiritual life, and he often said that the killing of the Fathers, while it might serve to water the earth, would, on the other hand, incite the military forces to take vengeance, and from this would come about the loss of many unfortunate Indians, the apostacy of the rest, and the abandonment of the Missions, as indeed happened in the San Diego Mission.

It was this thought that led him, while in the Mission of the Sierra Gorda, to flee from this danger. It happened once that as he and his companion, (the present Bishop of Merida de Maracaybo, His Lordship, Fr. Juan Ramos de Lora), were sitting on the steps of the Cross in the cemetery of his Mission at Santiago de Jalpan, about 8 o'clock in the evening, enjoying the cool air, his companion suddenly said to Father Junípero: "Let us go away from here. Let us go within, as we are not safe here." This they did, and on the next day they learned of a certainty that a plot had been made to kill them, and if they had not gone away both would have been killed there.

On many other occasions he found himself exposed to all sorts of danger, as we have seen in the trip from the San Gabriel Mission to the Mission about to be founded at San Juan Capistrano, as has been related in Chapter XLIII, page 190, when he was menaced by death because he had run the risk of crossing a section of country inhabited by savages with only one soldier. He ran similar risks a great many times in the many trips he made, so that we could say of him what Saint Augustine says of the strong man, that "he neither acts with foolhardiness nor does he fear without reason:" *Qui vera virtute fortis est, nec temere audet nec inconsulte timet.* (Aug. Epist. 29 ad Hieroni. ante med. tom. 2.)

TEMPERANCE

The last of the four columns in the spiritual structure is the fourth of the cardinal virtues called Temperance which, in the opinion of Saint Augustine (Lib. 1 de Libr. Arb. Cap. 13, Col. 580), "is an affection of the mind which puts a limit and a bridle upon all inordinate passions:" *Temperantia est affectio coercens, et cohibens appetitum ab iis rebus quae turpiter appetuntur.* Saint Prosper, speaking of the effects which this noble virtue causes in the soul which may be adorned by it, says (Lib. 3. de Vit. Contemp. Cap. 19, page 92): "It renders temperate and moderates the affections." *Temperantia temperantem facit, affectus temperat.*

All the affections of this Servant of God seemed to be directed toward the Propagation of the Faith and the enlargement of the Missions, and to this end he availed himself of all possible means, now using personal exhortation, now writing edifying letters, soliciting means and aid for this holy purpose with so much of efficiency and with such importunity in his requests that those who seemed less disposed considered him troublesome in his requests. But he endured their remarks with great patience, if only he could secure his purpose of seeing the

Missions increase, so that the following expression was very often heard from his lips: "Let us thank God that so far there is no Mission that has not children in heaven." As it was apparent to all that Father Junípero had a special genius for the founding of new Missions there were not lacking persons in authority and of rank who said concerning him: "*This Father Junípero is a holy man, but in this matter of asking for help for the founding of Missions he is a very burdensome saint.*" But in this affection, which was so extraordinary in him, he exercised his self-control by tempering himself to the means and to the supplies which were obtainable, always showing himself reconciled to the Divine Will and to that of the Prelates.

An example of this was his project for the founding of the three Missions in the Channel of Santa Barbara for which His Excellency, Don Frey Antonio Maria Bucareli, sent out sufficient troops and other necessary supplies, and also a letter to the Governor instructing him to put himself in accord with the Reverend Father Junípero, in order to carry out the founding of the Missions. Father Junípero received at the same time a letter from the Prelate of the College in which he asked him to bear in mind the great scarcity of Missionaries in the College as no recruits had arrived from Spain. This mere suggestion was sufficient to moderate his passion in regard to these establishments, and he gave up all consideration of the matter until more aid could be obtained through the arrival of Missionaries from Spain. But when, in the year 1783, he had not heard of the arrival of any, and when the following year he was also without word, it may be said that with the arrival of the vessels and the announcement that no Fathers were to come and that no Missionaries had arrived from Spain, he accepted it as an announcement of his own early death, as has been said in Chapter LVII, page 261.

Saint Prosper again says concerning the effects of this virtue that "it makes a man abstemious, sparing, sober and moderate:" *abstinentem, parcum, sobrium, moderatum.* So abstemious was this Servant of God, so parsimonious, so sober and moderate in his eating and drinking, that with very little or with almost nothing he was always satisfied, as he gave me to understand in a letter which he wrote and of which there appears a copy in Chapter XIX, page 88. In order to show that he was not suffering any need, he said that if he had a little *tortilla* (one of them would weigh scarcely two ounces, or probably less) and some wild plants from the field, there was no need for anything more. He very seldom touched meat, satisfying himself with the vegetables which were served with the meal and with fruit, which was always to be had, and these constituted his only diet. Whenever I said to him, "How is it you do not eat?" he would generally reply: "Is not that what I am doing? This fruit and the fish is the food which the most Holy Virgin ate." It seems that this consideration caused him to have an unusual liking for fruit and fish, so that if there was fish he would eat as much as anyone, but he seemed to have a sort of repugnance for other meat, and he would generally excuse himself to those who noticed that he was not eating by saying that he was not able to chew it well. He never complained of the food. He never said that it was salty, or sweet, good or bad, whenever others remarked about its lacking in any of these respects.

He was very sparing in what he ate. When he was at College he would often rise from the table when the meal was only half served and occupy the pulpit in order to read to the rest. When he was conducting a Mission he observed the same moderation in his meals, never eating between meals but only at set hours, so that he was recognized as being adorned by the virtue of Temperance, because of the effects of this virtue which were to be seen in his conduct and which, in the opinion of Saint Peter Celestinus, are so many other virtues (Opusc. 1, part 5, cap. 4).

So it was that in all his outward actions he gave abundant proof of being a man adorned with the virtues of Moderation and Modesty, of Sobriety and Abstinence, of Purity and Chastity, of Caution and Delicacy. These he manifested in his suppression of his own senses and inclinations in the poverty and scantiness of his dress, in the softness of his well-chosen words, in his grave and unaffected demeanor, in his almost continual and rigorous fasting, all of them the effects of Temperance, as Saint Prosper says, unless we are to say, following Saint Peter Celestinus and the Angelic Doctor, Saint Thomas (2.2.q. 141. art.1.), that "these are so many other virtues—precious stones with which are constructed the walls of the spiritual edifice."

The Servant of God was not lacking in the other effects which grow out of the virtue of Temperance and which Saint Prosper enumerates, nor in those other parts, either integral or potential and subjective, to which Saint Thomas refers in the quotation cited above. He was serious from a child, and this seriousness he preserved all his life, so that on first acquaintance he seemed to some to be of an austere and unapproachable character. But as soon as anyone had spoken to him or treated with him, he changed his mind, considering him suave, sweet, and attractive, immediately winning their hearts by his affection. He was also very bashful, especially with those with whom he was not well acquainted; but whenever in the presence of women he always maintained the same seriousness and modesty both in conduct and in speech, endeavoring to direct the conversation toward that which was religious and edifying, relating incidents from the lives and deeds of the saints, undoubtedly with the purpose of persuading them to become devoted to the saints or to imitate them, as this was the goal of all his desires, an effect of his Temperance, *desideria sancta multiplicat*, as Saint Prosper says, and the Servant of God was not content to multiply these desires in himself but also to have them multiplied in all those with whom he came in contact.

Saint Prosper also reckons Penitence among the effects of Temperance: *vitiosa castigat.* To such a degree did Fr. Junípero exercise this virtue that in order to afflict his body he was not contented with the ordinary exercises of the College, consisting of disciplines, vigils, and fastings, but when by himself he would lacerate his flesh with rough sackcloth, either made of bristles or woven with broken pieces of wire, and with these he covered his body as well as with the bloody discipline in the quiet hours of the night, retiring for the purpose to some one of the galleries of the choir. But although he chose a secret place and an hour when all was quiet, there were not lacking *religious* who heard the cruel blows, and who were inquisitive enough to wish to know who it was, watching until they were able to discover the truth and were thereby edified.

He was not satisfied with chastising his body on account of his own imperfections and sins, but he also did it for the sins of others, as, for example, in the exhortation which he used in order to move his audience to sorrow and penitence for their sins, either using the stone, with which he used to beat his breast in imitation of Saint Jerome, or, in imitation of his Special Patron San Francisco Solano, using a chain with which he scourged himself. Again, he would take the lighted torch and extinguish it against his own uncovered breast, burning his flesh in imitation of San Juan Capistrano and several others, all with the purpose not only of chastising himself but of moving those of his audience to penance for their own sins.

No less was the suffering he bore in depriving himself of sleep, because of his long and continuous vigils. His rest usually reduced itself to the following program which he observed when he was in the College. He was busy until midnight when he would go to Matins. At half past twelve, which is when the prayer ends, he would continue performing other exercises which varied every night: one night he would meditate on death, another on the Cross, on another he would go the Via Dolorosa, another on the Upper Chamber at the Last Supper, and there were still others, so that usually he did not finish until four in the morning. Then he would retire, not to sleep, but to continue in prayer until the hour of Prime, or the hour for saying Mass, which, as he was Master of Novices, he would say before Prime on the days when there was no Communion, and on the other days, afterwards.

When he was conducting a Mission, his vigils were none the less long, as he had at his disposal the whole night, and if we are to believe what the soldiers of his escort said, he would pass nearly the whole night in watching and prayer, so that the sentinels, when they would change watch, would be always listening to him, and they used to say, "We don't know when Father Junípero sleeps." At the noon hour he was accustomed to take a *siesta*, or a little rest, as he knew that his companion or companions were awake and watching. Even in those intervals when he did rest and sleep it seems as though his heart kept watch, either praising God or praying, as on many occasions in which we slept together, either in the tent or under the shelter of some arbor, he would cry out in his sleep, using these sweet words: "*Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.*" When I would awake on hearing him and ask him, "Father, is there anything the matter?" and would receive no reply, I would understand that he was asleep or in an ecstasy, or that it was the effect of a continued mental and vocal prayer.

III

Theological Virtues.

Having noted the deep foundation of this spiritual edifice which the Servant of God, Fr. Junípero Serra, strove to build, and the four columns of the four virtues which he raised up, and the union between these made by other particular virtues and works of charity which, like precious stones, form, as it were, the beautiful and attractive walls, it remains for us to consider the principal part of the temple, which is like the tabernacle built to contain the Holy of Holies; namely, that part which is formed by the principal or theological virtues, because they come directly in touch with God, with Religion and with Divine Service. These our Servant of God practiced in an heroic degree in accord with the teachings of the two very learned writers, Cardinal Aguirre and Pope Benedict XIV, whom we have already quoted. Let us look first at the virtue of

FAITH

This most noble virtue which, according to St. Paul (Hebrews XI, 1), is "the substance of that which is hoped for, the efficient and certain assurance of the things not seen": *Sperandarum substantia rerum argumentum non apparentium.* To this definition which the Apostle gives us may be reduced those of all the Holy Fathers who treat of this virtue, as Benedict XIV says (lib. 3, de Serv. Dei Beatif. Cap. 23, §1), following the teaching of Saint Thomas. The distinguished Apostolic Missionary of Italy, our Saint Bernard of Siena, in his Commentary on this definition (Op. tom. 1, Serm. 2, de Dom. Quinq. in princ. pag. 10, col. 1), says that the Apostle calls it a substance as if it were a pedestal upon which he would support the principal part of the spiritual edifice.

The Servant of God had been abundantly adorned with this most solid virtue from the time that God instilled it in him at baptism, and he began to show it forth as soon as he was able to exercise his reason, setting it forth from that time on in the heroic acts of this virtue. These acts were increased in him from the time he was a novice in his studies. When he had finished these, as he was occupied in two Chairs, that of Theology, instructing his disciples in the most ineffable of mysteries, in the most arduous and unsearchable of doctrines (so the Apostle calls it in Rom. XI: 33, as we read in Saint John Chrysostom, Hom. 4 in Gen.) with all the clearness of which the human mind is capable for the explaining and imparting of ideas to others, and also in the Chair of the Holy Spirit, explaining in the points of doctrine these sovereign mysteries of the Faith to those who were rude and ignorant, with all the clearness and expression, we might almost say, of Saint Gregory, so that his explanations were intelligible to those who were ignorant without being tiresome to those who were learned.

During his laborious life he was continually adding fineness to the quality of this noble virtue, and this was shown by the way it expressed itself in his life. For if we meditate upon his Apostolic labors we shall see with all clearness that his Faith was great, for we see in them the signs which are indicated as demonstrating its greatness, as pointed out by Saint Antonius of Florence: *Fides alicujus magna ostendi potest; primo si alta de Deo sentit*—"One's faith may be proved to be great, if, in the first place, he has an exalted idea of God" (in Sum. part. 4, tit. 8, cap. 3, par. 7). His conceptions of God and of the Divine attributes were as lofty as his discourse was noble and his memory marvelous. Whenever he spoke of the Holy Scriptures, it seemed as though he knew them by heart, and in order to explain some recondite points and the most intricate of the mysteries, he seemed to have a special gift from God, as he would make use of examples, symbols and comparisons which he would adapt to the most rustic mind and to the most ignorant. But in these explanations he would reveal to all what lofty conceptions he had of God, and he would let this be seen, not only by the sublime doctrine he taught, but rather, by the extraordinary joy and warmth of feeling with which he expressed himself, so that in these holy conversations and homilies he seemed almost beside himself, as they were often prolonged more than the ordinary, and to those who were little given to piety and the Divine Word, they seemed tiresome, and there were not lacking those who said they were not at all in accord with the teachings of Our Father, Saint Francis. But as this most zealous Missionary was so learned and so widely read, we must have in mind the explanation which Our Seraphic Doctor, San Buenaventura, gives on the ninth chapter of Our Seraphic Rule: *In brevitate sermonis*.—"On Brevity of Speech." "Haec brevitas excludit verborum ambages et sententias involutas, verba etiam ardua super capacitatem audientium: Ista enim abreviatio non excludit cum expedit, sermonis prolixitatem, quia Dominus ipse aliquando prolixe prædicavit, sicut patet in Joanne (XII) et Mattheo (XV)."[41]

From this lofty conception he had of God came his contempt for all the things which fade and are temporal, and which have nothing to do with the obtaining of the eternal reward of Heaven. And this is the second sign which Saint Anthony gives us whereby to recognize the greatness of the Faith of any servant of God: *Secundo si caduca pro præmio æterno contemnit*—"Secondly, if he for the heavenly reward despises worldly things." Enough has been said of his utter disregard for the vain and vanishing things of this world, for honors, dignities and positions. He also had the same disregard for the very necessary things of common use such as books, clothing, etc., so that when he died, among all the books which filled the shelves, hardly a one could be said to belong to him, but in them all was to be found this inscription, in his own handwriting: "This book belongs to the Mission of San Carlos of Monterey." The same may be said of the clothing destined for his own use and which a little before his death he ordered washed and set aside, retaining only his habit, cowl, girdle and drawers, which served him for a shroud at his burial. In this way he showed how fond he was of holy poverty and how he despised the perishable things of this life.

The third sign which Saint Antonius mentions as indicating the greatness of one's Faith is his confidence in God in the midst of all adversities: *Tertio si in adversis in Deo confidit*—"Thirdly, if in misfortune he trusts in God." It has been already told how the Venerable Father Junípero did not consider anything as unfortunate except that which hindered the Propagation of the Faith, the Conversion of the pagans and their Evangelization. One of the greatest perplexities in which he ever found himself was when all the expeditions wished to turn their backs on the Mission of San Diego in order to return to Lower California, not allowing more time than to the day of Saint Joseph, as has been explained at length in the Narrative. In this great affliction he put his faith in God, who consoled him in a remarkable manner, as has been shown. He was in an almost equally trying position in the same Mission of San Diego when the question came up of the rebuilding of that Mission and the founding of San Juan Capistrano. There are many other incidents to which I might refer, and which are a proof of his great confidence in God.

This great Trust in God kept him from turning back, but led him on to seek ever the Conversion of the savages, and this brings us to the fourth sign which Saint Antonius gives us of the Fortitude of Faith: *Quarto, si a bono opere non desistit*—"Fourthly, if he does not cease doing good." He revealed this great strength of purpose when he consented, with all joy and good will, to go on to the Conversion of the Apache Indians of the River San Saba, and that in spite of the fact that of the three Fathers who had gone out for that Conquest, two of them had lost their lives at the hands of the cruel savages, and the third had been seriously wounded, escaping miraculously. Where one might have hesitated, he did not stop, but putting all his Trust in God, he had joyfully accepted the appointment of the Prelate and had resolved to set out for that Conquest.

Other signs by which the heroic nature of one's Faith may be recognized are given by Benedict XIV (lib. 3 de Servo. Dei Beat. et Can., Cap. 23, mun. 4). These are, first, the external confession of what one inwardly believes. This sign was seen clearly and almost continuously in the life of the Servant of God, Fr. Junípero, through the exercise of all those outward acts which he practiced with regard to all the mysteries of the Faith, which he accepted with a most lively inward belief. And if it is true, as Saint Thomas says (2 2dae q. 124. art. 5.), that every act of virtue is a solemn profession of Faith: *Omnium virtutum opera secundum quod referuntur in Deum sunt quædam protestationes fidei*—"The works of all virtues inasmuch as they are referred to God are certain protestations of Faith." This man having been occupied, as we have seen in his Life in the continuous exercise of virtuous acts, we must conclude that his whole life was a continuous profession of his Faith. In the second place he (St. Thomas) says that he can be recognized by his observance of the precepts, and concerning such obedience, quite sufficient has already been said to show that there was no act of his which was not edifying and exemplary. But he was not content with that, but earnestly desired that those who were under his charge and who were young in the faith should be made to keep the divine commands with all punctuality, and he always corrected or punished, whenever necessary, any fault which he saw in them. The same was true in regard to the precepts of Holy Church. All his people were so well instructed that they were more than scrupulous in their observance, not admitting any indulgence, unless very necessary, nor did they make use of the privileges which the Church grants to neophytes, as they were accustomed to reply that they were Christians as well as the Spaniards; so they attended Mass not only on the Feast Days when all did, but also on the other days when it was not obligatory for them as neophytes, and in spite of the fact that they had been instructed that the Church did not oblige them to do so.

If we examine the third sign which Benedict XIV points out, which is Prayer to God, it is clearly expressed and fully corroborated from what remains to be said under the head of Religion, that our Servant of God was occupied in almost continual prayer. In this he gives a proof of the heroic quality of his Faith. And it is equally a proof of the same when the other sign which this Pope indicates is applied to him: *Ex fidei dilatatione, aut saltem ejus desiderio*—"From the spreading of Faith, or at least from a desire to do so."

His desire to have a part in the work of evangelization began very early in his life, as we have indicated; while he was a novice this was the most ardent desire of his heart, and also that he might be allowed to shed his blood, if necessary, in order to increase the number of the Children of Holy Church. And his heart would overflow with joy whenever he read in the legends of the Holy Martyrs how they had met death in defense of the Faith and in the work of its extension. These same desires he had and kept them all his life, and they led him to overcome every obstacle or danger which presented itself, and he seemed to regret that he never was granted the privilege he so much desired. At least, that is what he gave me to understand, when he told me of the attack on him on the way to the San Juan Capistrano Mission, and of which I have given the details in Chapter XLIII, page 190. He said to me afterwards: "I certainly thought that the hour had come and I was to obtain what I had so long desired." He used the same expression when he was threatened with death by the heretic Englishman, Captain of the packet-boat which carried us from Mallorca to Malaga, and of which I have spoken in Chapter II, page 6.

It seems that whenever on any of these occasions he was in danger of having to shed his blood at the hands of these heathen unbelievers that his heart was filled with a great joy, as was seen a little after the occurrence at San Diego Mission. We all feared that, when the news of what had occurred there had been spread abroad in all the other settlements, the same thing would be likely to happen in any one of them. And in fact, in the Mission of San Carlos where I was at the time, making ready to go to the founding of the Missions of Our Father, San Francisco, and of Santa Clara, with my other three companions, there was a rumor abroad that the savage tribe of Indians, called *Zanjones*, distant only about six leagues from the Mission of San Carlos, were planning to make an attack upon that Mission much as they had done in San Diego. In spite of the fact that entire credence was not given to these rumors, the soldiers were on the alert both at the Mission and in the presidio.

A few days later a converted Indian came in greatly terrified and with a great outcry, to tell the corporal that he had seen the *Zanjones*, who were coming up the canyon, and that he had noted how they were all armed, that there was a great crowd of them, undoubtedly with the intention of fighting. As soon as the corporal received the word, without stopping to question the news, he sent word to the Commander of the presidio, who immediately came up on horseback with a detachment of soldiers in order to lend aid to the Mission. At the same time the Venerable Father Junípero informed us of the news, speaking to his own companion and the other four of us who were assigned to the two other Missions. But he seemed to be so full of joy at the thought that perhaps that night his life would be taken, that he could not help expressing his feeling in his conversation. He said: "Now then, Fathers, my companions, the hour has come. The *Zanjones* are out there, they say, and there is nothing more to do than to prepare ourselves for what God may have disposed." Some of us accordingly went into the church and made our Confessions one to another.

When we came out of the church we found the Commander, with the soldiers of the garrison, whom he was stationing for the night-watch, as it was already evening, and he recognized the danger there was in the fact that the six friars who were there were occupying different little houses made of wood and roofed with thatch, quite apart one from the other, and all such as would be as easily ignited as if they were tinder. He proposed to the Reverend Father President that it would be advisable if we all slept together, in order that we might defend one another in the same room. If we would occupy a little house made of adobes and with a flat roof which had been constructed for the use of the blacksmith, we would there be well protected against arrows as well as from fire. A single soldier also could guard us thoroughly. Then he could dispose of the balance of the troop in the defense of the rest of the Mission. He agreed to this and we all went into the little room, but the good Father did not let us sleep all the night, on account of the great joy in his heart which led him to keep talking, relating to us many incidents to encourage us. The next morning there was no sign of the *Zanjones*, and we concluded either that they had been driven away by the heavy rainstorm which fell during the night, or it was simply a case of extreme fright on the part of the converted Indian, as these latter have the greatest fear of the warlike tribe we have mentioned. The fright was a real one to us all with the exception of the Servant of God, who was rather filled with joy.

If we will reflect a little on this case, on others which have been related, and on the great number of others which I might relate, and if we compare the opinion of the pious author of the Antiquities quoted by our Chronicler González (6 part. in the Life of San Diego, Cap. 7) where he says: "He who has once for all consecrated his heart to the firm purpose that he will endure, for the glory of God, all the injuries and cruelties of tyrants, is already a martyr; for if fortune does not permit him to have carried out in his person the suffering of the torture, it is not to be denied him that he has had the suffering of the soul, in as many ways as his imagination may have pictured to him that death might overtake him and to which in will and wish he had yielded himself," we may conclude with all piety that if this man was not a martyr in that he did not fall under the violence of the sword, his ready and firm will to suffer obtained for him that honor, in accord with the teaching of the celebrated Antoine (de Actibus Hum, Cap. 3, art. 7). Indeed this is what the Church, our Mother, sings concerning Saint Pasqual Baylon: *Martyrem non dat gladius, sed ipsum prompta voluntas*—"The words did not make him a martyr, but his ready will."

HOPE

We have already seen the firmness of the Faith of our Father Junípero and from it we can well infer what must have been the heroism of his Hope, which, in the opinion of San Buenaventura (tit. 5, dict. salut. Cap. 4), "is a strong column which rests upon the pedestal of Faith and sustains the principal part of the superstructure of the spiritual edifice;" or, as others say, it is the flower which springs forth from Faith, like a ray of light. We may infer, from what Saints Gregory and Bernard say, that the more one believes, the greater is his hope: "*Quantum quisque credit, tantum sperat.*" (Bernard de Dom. in Pas.) Quoting Guillelgo Alticiodorense, we may say that Hope is a boldness of the soul, conceived in the goodness of God, which reaches out after the good works of eternal life, extends the view and contemplates as already gained the forgiveness of sins and the reward of the good deeds in the life to come, grace, the resurrection of our bodies, the assistance and care of the Divine Providence to care for and favor us in times of difficulty and danger which might hinder the realization of our desires, and finally, lays hold of all that is difficult and arduous, if only thereby our good and the glory of God is attained.

This most noble virtue, which our Servant of God received with holy Baptism, from the day of his birth went on increasing with age. As soon as he was able to reason, with the instruction of his devout parents, he grew in the exercise of this virtue, as he also did in the exercise of Faith and Charity. His pious parents tried to have it that the first fruits of the acts of their son should be his consecration to God as the Divine Author of his being, and so taught him daily to exercise himself in such fervent acts which he did from childhood. As he increased in age and knowledge, he tried to exercise himself with even greater fervor, as has been seen in this long story of his exemplary life. As his conception of the Mysteries of our Holy Faith and of the Divine Attributes were so very lofty, he had his confidence always set on them, with the certain assurance that he would always obtain from the Lord what would be of the greatest pleasure to him and for the greatest glory of God. So that he always went to the Lord with every matter, both those which were hard to bear, as we have seen in his Life, as well as those which were trivial, for in all these things God was his only refuge, and usually he quickly obtained the happy solution of all his requests. If on account of his Humility he was doubtful as to the success of his plans, he would invoke the Saints to whom he was especially devoted, as was seen by his seeking the patronage of Saint Joseph — San José — as has been indicated so many times. He was also devoted to San Bernardino de Siena, through whose patronage he secured for a converted Indian of his Mission of San Carlos that he should be delivered from the jaws of death when those who were gathered about him considered him dead, crushed under a great pine tree which had fallen upon him. Our holy Father, to show his gratitude, had a painting made and hung in the church in order to quicken the devotion of all converts to this saint.

I might relate many other incidents, but will omit them to avoid prolixity, as enough has been said to prove that he had great hope in God, and as is shown by what was said concerning his malady in his chest and the sore and swelling in his foot and leg. Here is in place a quotation from Saint Augustine (Conf. lib. 10, cap. 43, tom. 1): *Merito mihi spes valida in illo est, quod sanabis omnes languores meos, per eum qui sedet ad dexteram tuam, et te interpellat pro nobis: alioquin desperarem. Multi etiam, et magni sunt languores mei, sed amplior est medicina tua*— "Deservedly strong Hope with me rests in this that Thou curest all my maladies through Him who sits at Thy Right and intercedes with Thee for us; otherwise I should despair. Numerous also and great are my maladies, but stronger is Thy remedy." And finally, if we have in mind and meditate on what San Buenaventura says (in 3 Sent. dist. 26, q. 4), that "all the acts committed in the fulfilling of the other virtues are also acts of the exercise of Hope," we may say that the whole life of this man was a continuous exercise of this most noble virtue. The same thing is said by the Auditors of the Rota in the cause of Saint Francis Xavier (tit. de Spe), that "nothing awakens more efficaciously Hope in any one than the exercise of good deeds and virtuous actions": *Spei argumentum nullum validius, quam quod exercitio ducitur bonorum operum et actionibus virtutum.* Pope Benedict confirms us in the same opinion in the statement he makes (lib. 3, de Can. SS. cap. 23, par. 2, num. 16): *Omnia opera bona spem arguunt, et omnia bona eximia et sublimia, spem demonstrant eximiam, sublimen, et heroicam*—"All good works argue Hope and all good, excellent and sublime works demonstrate excellent, sublime and heroic Hope."

CHARITY AND RELIGION

The greatest of the virtues St. Paul calls the third one of the theological virtues, which is Charity: *maior autem horum est charitas.* (I Cor. XIII.) If, in the opinion of Saint Gregory (in Ezequ. hom. 22), "whatever one believes in and hopes for, he loves," after having seen the firmness of the faith of this Servant of God and the assurance and confidence of his Hope, we may surely say the same concerning the ardency of his Love. Concerning this virtue, as Saint Gregory remarks, we may well call it what the Apostle to the Gentiles terms it, the bond of perfection, for if it is true that the other virtues engender perfection, it is Charity which binds them together so that they are not able to separate themselves from the soul of the one who loves: *Charitatem recte Prædicator egregius vinculum perfectionis vocat, quia virtutes quidem cæteræ perfectionem generant, sed tamen eas charitas ita ligat, ut ab amantis mente, dissolvi jam nequeant.* (Greg. regist. lib. 4, ind. 13, cap. 95.)

We have seen how the other two theological virtues are the column and the pedestal of the principal and the most holy part of the Temple. Speaking of Charity, the celebrated disciple of Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople, in the Epistle which he wrote concerning the Faith to the Armenians (tom. 6 op. SS. PP.), says to them: "Charity is the culmination of all that is most holy and perfect in our Catholic Religion": *Charitas sanctæ Religionis nostræ culmen est.* So that we may hold that this virtue of Charity is the end and union which unites and crowns the perfect state of the soul.

The signs for recognizing the heroism of this most noble virtue are indicated by Fortunatus Schacco (de not. et sig. Sanct. sec. 3, cap 3, quoted from Pope Benedict XIV). The first is zeal for the worship of God, in order that God may be loved and honored by all. Enough has been said in this narrative of the Life of this Servant of God to show the zeal he had for Divine Worship, be it in the sumptuous church which he constructed in his Mission of Santiago de Jalpan in the Sierra Gorda, or in the furniture which he solicited for it and for the vestry. All was for the purpose of Divine Worship. He followed the same custom in the Missions which he founded in both Californias, charging all the Missionaries that whenever they sent in statements to Mexico City, they should never fail to ask for something either for the church or for the vestry. On one occasion when I was present he was reading a statement of what was being asked for, for one of the Missions, and when he finished reading it he said to the Fathers who had made it out: "I am not satisfied with this statement because I do not find in it any request for furnishings to adorn the church." The Fathers then amended the document by adding to the list several items of things needed for Divine Worship.

This zeal, which we may also call an act of the virtue of Wisdom, has been largely set forth in this story of his Life, Chapter VII, beginning with page 27, where is set forth the rules for spiritual guidance observed in the Sierra Gorda, which were the same as those he tried to put in force in the Missions of New California and Monterey, both as regards the construction of churches, according to the capacity of each, as well as in the furnishings for them. He always expressed his great pleasure when in his visits to any of these Missions he found any signs of progress in this respect, and he would immediately try to communicate the news to the Fathers of the other Missions in order to stimulate them to do the same.

It has also been related in the above cited chapter what his custom was as to the sermons which he preached on solemn occasions, when the Mysteries and the Feast Days of the Lord were celebrated, or those of the Holy Virgin and of the Saints, how, in his preaching, he tried to instruct the converts in the Worship and the Love of God, it being his one great desire that this knowledge should be extended to every one. This was well set forth at the time of the founding of the San Antonio Mission when, inflamed by these desires almost to the point of ecstasy, he rang the bell and cried out, calling upon all to come to Divine Worship and to the Love of God, expressing the wish that those bells might be heard all over the world, thus giving a proof of the ardent love of God which burned in his own heart. For he not only loved God, but wished that all the world might know and love him.

Another sign of the strength of Charity and Love to God which the above quoted author cites us is that it may be recognized by the inner joy which shows itself in outward expression when either God or the Saints are being spoken of. It could easily be seen from his sermons and homilies that his heart seemed to overflow with joy and happiness. When the word came that Our Most Holy Father, Pope Clement XIII, had decreed that on every Sunday of the year in which there was no special Preface, there should be sung or recited the Preface of the Most Holy Trinity, so great was his joy that his heart could not hold it all, and with great tenderness he said: "Blessed be God, and may He long preserve the life of Our Most Holy Father, who has decreed the recital of this most devout Preface! Oh, what a splendid occasion for Our Seraphic Order to ask of this Most Holy Father, who seems to be very especially devoted to the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, that he grant to us the Recital of this Sovereign Mystery with the rite of a double of the first class, so that we might be able to imitate Our Seraphic Father, San Francisco, of whom we say: *Trinitatis officium, festo solemni celebrat.* —'The office of the Trinity he celebrated most solemnly.' "

He always manifested the same joy in the Services in Honor of the Virgin and in the Feasts of the Mysteries, and when he saw his converted children, who, with a special devotion, came together to sing the most holy Rosary of Mary Most Holy and the Antiphone, *Tota Pulchra*, he would shed tears of tenderness and devotion. The same thing would happen whenever he celebrated the services of the Passion and the Divine Mysteries of Holy Week.

It happened not a few times that he could not sing in choir the Angelical song of the Gloria on Holy Saturday, for his tears. His tears were always abundant during the Stations of the Via Crucis, of which exercise he was extremely fond, and he instituted it in all the Missions, both of the Sierra Gorda and of Old and New California. In the opinion of the Auditors of the Rota in the cause of St. Andrew Avelino (Tit de

Charit.) this love for the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ is a clear and evident sign of perfect Charity and of the heroism of this virtue: *Hanc eximiam charitatem Andreæ erga Deum probari censuimus, ex maximo affectu ipsius, erga passionem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi.*

The above cited author set forth several other signs, but I omit them, as they have already been commented upon in the story of this Life, principally our Venerable Father's Charity toward his fellow-man, of which quite sufficient has been said. And as, in the opinion of St. Gregory, Charity toward our neighbor nourishes and increases charity and love to God, *per amorem proximi, amor Dei nutritur* (Greg. in Moral.), and as we have seen the great Charity which this Servant of God had for his fellow-beings we can well imagine how great must have been the Love for God which he cherished in his heart, and which produced such wonderful effects in his soul.

These fervent acts of Love to God and to his fellow-man, together with all the other virtues of which I have spoken, and which I have wished to set forth concerning him who was my beloved Master, were acts which I can say continued until his death, as may be seen in Chapter LVIII, where is set forth most clearly and indisputably that he was possessed of a Charity and a Love of God and his fellow-men which was holy and sincere. In the opinion of his favorite saint, San Bernardino de Siena, speaking of true and unalloyed Charity, writes the following (tom. 2, Fer. 4, post. Ciner. Serm. 5, cap. 3, pag. 39, col. mihi 2): "*Charitas ficta, sex fornaces patitur, sed in septima alchymiæ falsitas patet. Primus namque fornaceus ignis fit in corde, secundus fit in ore, tertius in opera, quartus in imicorum dilectione, quinto in eorum subventione, sexto in recta intentione, ut scilicet propter Deum hic omnia fiant, septimo in perseveranti continuatione. Hic sanctus probatur amor, quoniam si verus non est, cito evanescit.*"—"Charity that is not genuine withstands the test of six furnaces, but in the seventh the falsehood of alchemy is laid bare. The first fiery test takes place in the heart; the second in the mouth; the third in action; the fourth in the love of enemies; the fifth in assisting them; the sixth in the right motive; that all done here, namely, be done for God; the seventh in an unbroken continuance. Here holy love is proved, for if it is not genuine, it will directly vanish."

All the other six signs mentioned by San Bernardino we find clearly set forth in the story of his Life, and the last and seventh sign is proven by what has been said in Chapter LVIII. And if in the opinion of St.

John the Evangelist the works of each one shall follow the soul after its separation from the body, *opera enim illorum sequuntur illos*, we are to piously believe that all the good works which he did in the laborious activities of his life must have accompanied his soul. And also that the innumerable company of Indians whom he converted and through whose Apostolic labors they obtained everlasting blessedness will go out to meet him in order to present him in the presence of God that he may receive the eternal reward in heaven.

So I piously believe, as I have had personal experience of his fervent Charity and Divine Love, that he must have possessed those qualities which are described by the most learned Rabano (in Sermon): "*Amor divinus est ignis, lux, mel, vinum, sol. Ignis in meditatione purificans mentem a sordibus. Lux est in oratione mentem irradians claritate virtutem. Mel est in gratiarum actione mentem dulcorans dulcedine divinorum beneficiorum. Vinum est in contemplatione mentem inebrians suavi et jucunda delectatione*"—"Divine love is fire, light, honey, wine, sun. Fire in meditation purifying the mind of what is sordid. Light in prayer illuminating the mind with the clearness of virtues. Honey in thanksgiving sweetening the mind with the sweetness of Divine graces. Wine in contemplation rejoicing the mind with sweet and joyful bliss." All these qualities were to be found in the laborious life of this Servant of God and we may piously say that he must have attained also to the last of them in the heavenly land: *Sol est in æterna beatitudine mentem clarificans serenissimo lumine et suavisimo calore: mentem exhilarans ineffabili gaudio perenni jubilatione*—"It is the sun in eternal bliss clarifying the mind with serenest brightness and sweetest warmth; exhilarating the mind with ineffable joy and everlasting jubilee." The above mentioned Rabano concludes in this way his list of the qualities of true Charity, in the quotation which we have of him from the Venerable Father, Fr. Luis de Granada (in Sylva locorum communium tom. 1, tit. *Amor. Dei.*), and I may well conclude by saying that his soul will be at rest, for the last words which he spoke to me before dying, after finishing the recital of the morning Office of the Church on the Feast of Saint Augustine, in the presence of several others who were standing about, were: "Let us now go to rest," as I have told in his Life. And I can piously believe that his resting place was and is in heaven. But as the lofty judgments of God are inscrutable and he may have need of our help, please accompany me in saying: "*Anima ejus requiescat in pace. Amen*"—"May his soul rest in peace. Amen."

CONCLUSION OF THE WORK

Remarks Addressed to the Curious Reader, and the Final Protest.

I said at the beginning what was the purpose I had in writing this Life and also how I wrote it when far away among those barbarous nations where there were no books nor any Companion Fathers whom I might have consulted, and how I had been led to yield to the request of those who had been devoted and enthusiastic associates of the Venerable Father, who had known and loved him, and who made it possible that this Life and History should be published. I asked several learned persons who had known this Servant of God to read the work and they were all of the opinion that it should be printed and that its perusal would be not only edifying but that it might move many to enroll themselves as laborers in the Vineyard which this exemplary Missionary had planted. And when they told me that they missed a little treatise on his virtues I resolved to add it to the work, being encouraged by the fact that in this city books are not lacking nor learned persons with whom I may consult concerning the difficulties which have presented themselves to me. Although these things have not been lacking, I have been hindered by the lack of time and leisure which was needed as Obedience has laid upon me the heavy burden of the Guardianship of this College.

This consideration will serve me as an excuse for any lack which curious readers may note in this last chapter, principally the brevity with which I treat a subject of so great importance. I also presume that they will have noticed the omission of any reference to the gift of Contemplation in this Servant of God, as well as Revelations, Prophecies, Miracles, and all that collection of gratuitous graces which cause wonder and surprise in the holy life of any Servant of God. But I have had it in mind that all these graces, although they are remarkable and greatly to be esteemed, do not constitute the essential character of holiness which is the bond of sanctifying grace.

Not the gift of Contemplation, for, as Saint Gregory notes (lib. 2, hom. 5, in Ezeq. num. 19, col. 1361, op. tom. 1), this gift is often granted both to those who are perfect and to those who are not and often to those who are beginning and imperfect. "*Non enim contemplationis gratia summis datur, et minimis non datur, sed sæpe hanc summi, sæpe minimi, sæpius remoti . . . percipiunt*"—"The grace of Contemplation is not given to the highest and denied to the lowest, but often the highest, often the lowest, often the remote perceive it." And many times it happens that this gift is not given to the Saint, as concerning those already canonized our most eminent Laurea notes (de Orat. opusc. 7, cap. 2). Undoubtedly for this reason no inquiry concerning this is made in the Causes of Canonization but it is a kind of habit acquired by the acts of contemplation and prayer, as is taught by Pope Benedict XIV (lib. 3, de Beat. et Can. SS. cap. 26, pag. 186). As this, according to the rules of Mystics, may be an act composed of vivid Faith and fervent Charity, these two virtues having been amply set forth as being possessed by this Servant of God, we ought to say that he was not lacking in this gift of Contemplation.

Neither is essential holiness to be considered as made up of Revelations, Prophecies, Miracles, Gifts of Speech, etc., but as these gifts differing in the one who may be sanctified, as our irrefutable Doctor Alexander of Hales teaches us (in 2. part. quæst 73), they are given for the benefit of others and may be found together in the same person, together with mortal sin, as the eminent Suarez (tom. 1, de Grat. prol. 3, cap. 4, num. 10) and also the learned Viguer (in Inst. Theol. tit. de Grat. Div. cap. 9, § 1) say, using these words: "*Gratia gratis data differt a gratia gratum faciente, primo quia haec potest stare cum peccato mortali, et sine charitate, etc.*"—"Grace gratuitously given differs from grace which makes holy first because it can exist along with mortal sin and without charity, etc.," and besides as they are not necessary for the attaining unto eternal bliss, their lack does not argue imperfection, as the Salmaticenses teach (tom. 3, Curs. Theol. in Arb. praed. § 17, num. 164): "*Sed quia ad beatitudinem consequendam necessariæ non sunt, idcirco neque illarum defectus defectum sanctitatis ostendit.*"—"But as they are not necessary to obtain eternal bliss, therefore neither does their lack prove any defect in holiness." For this reason our Matheuccius, who was Promoter of the Faith, insisted that the ones who proposed the cause of Saint Vincent de Paul should propose some of these graces, but these with great perspicacity replied, as this same Matheuccius says, in his Practical Theology (Canon. ad Caus. Beatif. et Canon. tit. 6, cap. 6, num. 20), that although they were lacking in the life of the Saint, they were not necessary for his Canonization.

Those who knew and had dealings with our Venerable Father may complain that I have omitted from his Life many exemplary deeds. In order to close the door against all excuse they may perhaps adduce the statement of Casiodorus (in Comp. Rhet.): "*Satius est narratione aliquid superesse quam decesse: nam superflua cum tedio dicuntur; necessaria cum periculo substrahuntur.*"—"It is better that in a narrative something may be superfluous than wanting, for what is superfluous is related with tediousness; but what is necessary is omitted with danger." But to this I ought to reply that that has happened to me which happens to the pearl-fishers when they are on the pearl-fishing banks, where the abundant supply obliges them to allow a great many to escape through their fingers. The virtues of the Servant of God are shy about coming to public notice until the slow passage of time removes from view the idea of certain material impressions which obscured their brilliant lustre; and the affection which I had for him as my Revered Teacher has kept me back from saying many things had I not feared would be attributed to an inordinate passion, although this might have been overlooked in view of the saying *Parentibus et Magistris nunquam satis.* For parents and teachers never enough can be said as the philosophers say. This maxim seems applicable to San Juan Capistrano, who so earnestly solicited honors for his beloved teacher San Bernardino de Siena, as may be seen in the letter which he wrote to the noble citizens of Aquila, the native land of his holy teacher.

I confess with all ingenuousness that I am not lacking in this affection and that it has been difficult to moderate it as I should, but this filial affection has not made me exaggerate any of the things which I myself saw, much less believe the many particular incidents which I have omitted because I was not able fully to investigate them. Waiting for Time to further enlighten us as to what I have written, I have written with much reserve, as you who have read will have noted. And if perhaps in this I have erred I subject it all to the Holy Mother, the Roman Catholic Church, protesting as a son of so Holy a Mother, in which I find my greatest happiness, and in obedience to the decrees of Our Most Holy Father Urban VIII (of blessed memory) to the Holy Congregation of Rites and General Inquisition and other Apostolic Rescripts which prescribe the mode of writing the Lives of the Servants of God who have not been Canonized. It is not my intention that more credence should be given to what I have told than that which a purely human belief may deserve and which therefore may be very fallible; and concerning those epithets of Venerable and Martyr, etc., which are found in the work, it is not my intention that they should be improperly applied to the persons spoken of, characterizing them as Saints and Blessed, but I simply refer to their virtuous actions.

Wilt thou not in the meantime, beloved reader, pray for me, and if thou findest any error, attribute it not to malice, but rather excuse my weakness which I am willing to correct. And that thou mayest attain unto the eternal happiness, I beg thee, as Saint Pauline begged Licencius, son of Romaniano and disciple of Saint Augustine:

Vive præcor, sed vive Deo, nam vivere mundo
Mortis opus, viva est vivere vita Deo.
Cui soli honor, et gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Live, I beseech thee, but live for God; for to live for the world
Is death; the true life is to live for God.
To whom alone be honor and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

EXTRACTS TAKEN FROM A LETTER

Which the Rev. Father Fray Alonso de Benavides, Custos of New Mexico, sent to the Friars of the Holy Custody of the Conversion of Saint Paul of the said region, from Madrid, in the year 1631, and to which reference is made in the second chapter of this History.

Dearly beloved and most highly esteemed Fathers Custos and other Friars of the Order of Our Seraphic Father Saint Francis, of the Custody of Saint Paul of the region and Province of New Mexico:

I give infinite thanks to the Divine Majesty for having put me (though so unworthy) in the number of the happy lot of your Reverences, as you deserve to be so highly favored of Heaven that the Angels and our Father, Saint Francis, assist you and in person and really and truly, carry from the village of Ágreda (which is on the boundary of Castile) the blessed and happy Mother, MARIA DE JESUS, of the Order of the Conception, Descalced Franciscan Nun, that she may help you with her presence and preaching in all those Provinces and among those barbarous nations. Your Reverences will remember well that in the year 1628, when I was your Prelate and Servant, I determined, perhaps (but it was more probably a peculiar disposition of Heaven), to go on to New Spain in order to give a report to the Viceroy and to the Reverend Prelates concerning the more notable things which had taken place in Our Holy Custody; and having carried out this plan, after reaching Mexico City, it seemed wise to the Viceroy and the Reverend Prelates that I should go on to Spain to give an account of the same to His Majesty as the fountain head of all and to our Father General. These men, so Catholic and so zealous for the Salvation of Souls, showed me a thousand favors in return for the information I gave them concerning the increase of our Holy Faith as well as concerning the Apostolic zeal with which your Reverences labor, mentioning also the temporal increase which our Divine Majesty has revealed, in payment and reward for the zeal with which our Lord the King has favored us and helped us. I send herewith to your Reverences a printed statement which I presented to His Majesty and to the Royal Council of the Indies, and it was so well received in Spain that I intend to prepare a reprint for the satisfaction of the many who have asked for it. Do not censure me for being too laconic, though I recognize that the statement is very brief, when it is considered all that is omitted and also what your Reverences deserve to have published, but I made it brief, even at the risk of omitting much, in order to gain the hearing of His Majesty; but he not only read it but had it all read to the Council, and it was so well received that they have not only read it many times, but they know it by heart, and for a second time they have asked me for copies. In satisfying these demands, I have distributed four hundred books, and Our Most Reverend Father General has sent them to Rome to His Holiness, adding other statements not found in the printed statement. On the occasions in which I have spoken to His Majesty and to the Royal Council of the Indies, where these matters are dispatched, I have personally related and read from manuscript reports, all that has happened over there, and as here so very little is known of New Mexico, it is almost as if God had made it part of another world, and for that reason the work was not appreciated nor was it known with what Apostolic zeal your Reverences had labored in that Vineyard of the Lord. I trust that by the grace of His Divine Majesty, I may return and be among you in order that I may have the joy of being in your company, though I confess I do not deserve it, and to bring to you, and to all that land, the very great favors which His Holiness and which our Lord the King have granted for the comfort of all and for the increase of the Divine Name. When I arrived in Spain, which was on the first of August, of the year 1630, as soon as the Most Reverend Father-General, Fray Bernadino de Siena (now Bishop of Viseo) who is the head of the Order until the next General Chapter, knew of my Narrative concerning the Holy Religious, who were there going about preaching the Holy Catholic Faith, in the manner in which your Reverences know, his very Reverence immediately said to me, that when he was Commissioner of Spain, before being Father-General, more than eight years previously, he had had notice concerning the Mother Maria de Jesus, Abbess of her Convent of the Village of Ágreda (on the borders of Aragon and Castile), how she had apparitions and revelations concerning the conversion of New Mexico; and now, with the account which I had given him and also the report which he had received from the Archbishop of Mexico, Francisco Manso, concerning the same thing, his Reverence was greatly moved to tenderness and devotion and he was very anxious to set out at once for the little village of Ágreda; for in exact correspondence with what I had told him, he had heard the same thing from this same Mother Maria de Jesus, several years previously, when he had gone personally to visit that convent as it was under the care of the Order and the Province of Burgos, and this same Mother Mary of Jesus had told him the same; *os ad os*, word for word, and now he had it confirmed by what I had told him. But seeing that his many occupations would not permit, he sent me to go to her personally, giving me the authority that I might oblige the blessed Mother under Obedience, to set forth to me all that she knew concerning New Mexico. Under this commission I left this Court and arrived in Ágreda on the last of April of the year 1631. But before saying anything further, I want to say that the abovementioned Mother Maria de Jesus, Abbess of the Convent of the Conception, etc., is a woman of about 29 years old, or a little less, of beautiful face, of white skin, but of rosy color, and large black eyes. The form of her habit, and of all the nuns of the convent, who are 29 in all, is exactly like our habit, that is, it is of gray sackcloth, very coarse and worn next the skin, without any other tunic, dress skirt or underskirt, and over this gray habit is worn the white sackcloth habit, also coarse, with a scapulary of the same and the cord of our Father, San Francisco. Over the scapulary the rosary is worn; on the feet there are no shoes or other footwear, except some wooden soles which are tied to the feet, or else some sandals made of *esparto* grass. The cloak is of blue sackcloth, very coarse, and the veil is black. I will not stop to speak of the ascetic life of this venerable Mother and of her Convent, as I want to confine myself to the part which concerns New Mexico. But when I shall have been granted the privilege of seeing your Reverences, and I have the greatest hopes and desires that I shall, I will then tell you some wonderful things which our Lord is working there. Among other virtues which this blessed Mother has attained from God is the desire for the Conversion of Souls, on which she had had pity from childhood, when thinking of their being condemned, but especially of the souls of the unbelievers who, for the lack of light and the lack of some one to preach to them, do not know about God our Lord. As His Divine Majesty has revealed to her all the savage nations who are living in the world without a knowledge of Him, she has been carried by the Ministry of Angels whom she has for her Guardians and her wings, Saint Michael and our Father San Francisco, that she might personally preach to all those nations our Holy Catholic Faith, and in particular to those of our New Mexico whither she has been carried in the same way. The Guardian Angels of their Provinces have come for her personally at the command of God our Lord. The habit which she has worn personally the most of the time has been that of our Father, San Francisco, and at other times, that of the Conception, together with the veil, although always with the sleeves rolled up and the white skirts drawn up so as to show more of the gray. The first time she went was in the year 1620. These flights have been so continuous that there have been days in which there were more than three or four in less than 24 hours. This habit has continued constantly up to the year 1631. Fathers of my Soul, I do not know how to make you understand the impulses and the great uplift to my soul which I felt when this blessed Mother told me that she had accompanied me at the Baptism of the *Pisos* Indians and that she recognized me as being the same person whom she saw there. She also assisted Father Christobal Quirós in several baptisms and she gave me the exact description of his person, his face, even to the point of saying that he is old but that he did not show any signs of gray hairs, that he was longfaced and ruddy. She also told how one time the Father was standing baptizing in his church when a number of Indians gathered around the door; that she was there and pushed them in with her own hands and arranged them in their places so that they would not disturb; that they were looking to see who pushed them and that they laughed when they could not see who it was; and that she pushed them so that they would push the others, etc. She also told me what we all know happened to our Fathers and Brothers, Fray Juan de Salas and Fray Diego Lopez, in their journeying among the *Jumanas*, and that she took care of them and directed them all the time, so that they went to call them, just as in fact they did. She gave me all the descriptions and how she served them. She is well acquainted with Captain Tuerto, and gave me all the peculiar marks of his features, as well as of all the others. She personally sent the embassy of the *Quivira* Indians to the Fathers, just as the Indians themselves will corroborate, because she spoke to them personally. She also told me about Father Ortega and his journey, and how fortunate he was in escaping with his life, through the means of those signs which he found, and she described each one, and how as soon as he turned from the North to the East he got out of the region, suffering from the cold, until he came to another place where it was warmer, and from there on (although at a great distance) lies the greatness of the countries, but that our Father, San Francisco, is to conquer all. There were so many minute references to that land which she made that even

I could not remember them all until she reminded me. When I asked her why it was that she had never allowed us to see her when she allowed the Indians to have that privilege, she replied, that they had a greater need than we, and besides it was the Holy Angels; however, I trust in the Divine Majesty that when this letter reaches the hands of your Reverences that some one or more of you will be permitted to see her, because I begged of her very earnestly, and she promised to ask it of God and if it shall be granted to her she will be very glad to do it. She said that when one leaves *Quivira* toward the East, over a very long way one must pass by the landmarks which Father Ortega saw when he was threatened by death on the road, in order that our Holy Faith might not come to those regions, for so the devil had shown it to him, and in the course of time very many of those people would be converted if the soldiers gave them a good example; (*Res valde difficilis, sed omnia Deo facilia.*) She also said that our Father, San Francisco, had obtained from God our Lord that the Indians would only have to look upon our friars to be converted. I wish I might tell you in this letter all that the Venerable Mother told me, but that is not possible although I have a great deal of it written down in a book which I shall bring with me for the comfort of all. She said that after going over many long and very difficult roads toward the East we would come to the nations of the *Chillescas*, *Cambujos*, and *Jumanas*, and then soon afterward to the nation of the *Titlas* (these are not the exact names of the tribes but they are somewhat similar), because while she is among them she can speak their language, but when she is away from them she does not know it, nor has it been revealed to her. That nation of *Titlas*, which is very large and populous, is where she has gone most often, and through her intercession our Father conducted thither two Friars of our Order and they baptized the chief and many of the people, and there they suffered martyrdom. She says that they were not Spaniards and also that many of the Christian Indians were martyred, and that the chief had their bones in a silver casket in the church which had been built there. Once she took from here a chalice for Consecration and with it the Friars said Mass and had a procession with the Blessed Sacrament. All this will be found there and many Crosses and Rosaries which she has given. She herself was martyred and received many wounds and her Holy Angels crowned her because she was granted of our Lord the blessing of Martyrdom. I think that this will be quite sufficient in order that your Reverences may be consoled at having such a companion and Saint in your labors, and it may be God's will to bring me back to you that you may know all these things which she has told me and which I told to her in order that she might say if in anything I had been mistaken, or if it was the same which had happened between the two. To this end I imposed upon her the Obedience of our most Reverend Father-General, which I had authority to impose for this purpose, and the Reverend Father of the Province who was there and her Confessor imposed the same. I am sure that her answer will bring greatest comfort and encouragement to your Reverences, as it has caused others here, for all Spain wishes to go to see her; so I will write out here a copy of her reply, which I have in her own handwriting, and which I shall preserve in order to carry it to your Reverences. I also have the very habit which she wore when she made those visits and also the veil about which there is a peculiar odor which comforts the soul.

COPY

OF THE DECLARATIONS WHICH THE BLESSED MOTHER MARY OF JESUS WRITES TO THE REVEREND FATHERS OF NEW MEXICO

In obedience to our Most Reverend Father-General and our Father, Sebastian Marcilla, Provincial of this Holy Province of Burgos, and our Father, Francisco Andres de La Torre who is my spiritual director, and to the Reverend Father Custos of New Mexico, that I should make a statement concerning the contents of these memoranda and if they contain what I have said, treated of, and conferred about concerning what, as I have told your Reverence, by the mercies of God and of his holy judgments which are unchangeable, He has wrought in my poor soul, how perhaps, He has chosen a most unworthy subject, imperfect and incompetent, to set forth the might of His wonderful hand and to permit those of us who are now alive to know that all things are derived from the Father of Lights, who inhabiteth the heavens and by Whose might and power we are able to do all things with the help of His Greatness. And so I declare what it is that has happened in the Provinces of *New Mexico*, *Quivira* and *Jumanas*, and the other nations, although these latter were not the first nations to whom I was carried by the will of God, and by the hand and the assistance of his Angels, where it happened to me that I saw and did all that I have told to the Father. There are a great many other things which I have not told about, because they are so many which have to do with the carrying of the Light of our Holy Catholic Faith to all those nations. The first tribes to which I went, I believe, are toward the East, and in order to reach them one must travel from the *Quivira* nation. I call these nations, using our own terms of speech, *Titlas*, *Chillescas* and *Caburcos*, but these have not yet been discovered, and in order to reach them it seems to me there will be great difficulty on account of the many tribes that must be traversed before arriving at them. All of these are warlike people, who will not allow the Christian Indians of New Mexico to pass through, for they are very suspicious of them and much more so of the Friars of Our Seraphic Father, San Francisco, because the devil has them deceived, making them believe that there is poison wherever there is the antidote, and that if they were to become Christians they would be reduced to slavery instead of obtaining liberty and happiness in this life. It seems to me that the way in which they can be reached will be to have the Friars of our Father, San Francisco, traverse their land, and for their security soldiers of good life and conduct might be sent to accompany them who, on account of their mildness, would be willing to suffer any insult which might be offered them, and who with a good example of patience might win them over as so much can be accomplished by example. When these Provinces shall have been discovered a great work in the Vineyard of the Lord will be begun.

The events concerning which I have spoken happened to me since the year 1620 and up to this present year of 1631, in the region of *Quivira* and *Jumanas*, which are the last to which I have been carried, the people of which your Reverence says are of good intelligence and in their persons not unlike those Holy Fathers, the Missionaries, whom I beg and in God's name warn and admonish to carry on this glorious work, praising the Almighty for the good fortune and happiness which is theirs, as His Divine Majesty has made them treasurers and disbursers of his Precious Blood. He has put the price of it in their hands which is naught else than the souls of these many Indians who for lack of light and the means of getting it, walk in blindness and darkness, deprived of all that is most holy and desirable in the pure and delectable law of God, as well as of eternal good and glory. These same Fathers ought to be greatly encouraged in this inheritance of the Lord, because the harvest is great and the laborers are few, so they must give greater glory and praise to the Most High and make use of the most perfect Charity which it is possible to exercise toward these creatures of the Lord made in His image and created in His likeness with rational souls capable of knowing Him. I pray you, Fathers and my dear Sirs, that the desires of the Lord and of his Holy Will be not suffered to fail, because you are called upon to receive in exchange hardships and contumely, for God has His delight in the sons of men and these Indians He has made capable and worthy to worship Him. So that it is not right that they should be deprived of that which we, as believing Christians, possess and enjoy. I hope that you, Reverend Fathers, will rejoice in that God has given you the opportunity, occasion, and vocation of the Apostles. Do not lose it through any thought of the fatigue and the labor. Remember it is your part to obey the Most High and to go forth and to sow the seed of His Holy Law, no matter how great may be the labors and the persecutions which you may suffer in imitation of your Master.

I can assure your Reverences that I know to a certainty that the Blessed in heaven envy you, if it is possible for them to have envy (which is impossible), but I speak after our human manner of understanding. If they could, they would leave the glory which they have, in order to accompany you in these Conversions. This does not surprise me — as they see in the Lord, who is the principal cause and the object of their glory and who is, as it were, a mirror into which all may look and in which they may see the particular glory which the Apostles have and in which is even more evident the glory which the other Saints have in that they have suffered much for the Conversion of Souls,— so that it is certain they would be glad to separate themselves from the enjoyment of God in order to Convert one soul. This is then a reason why your Reverences who have this great opportunity should make great use of it, and I confess that if I could purchase it with my blood, or my life, or cruel martyrdom I would do it. I indeed envy your Reverences this task which, although God grants me that I may obtain this fruit in life, it is not by the way of suffering such as your Reverences have, nor do I deserve any thing of the sort, on account of my imperfections. But now that I am able to do so little, I simply offer all my heart and soul to help with prayers and exercises and with those of this Holy Community. I beg my very dear Fathers to accept my good wishes and desires, and that they permit me to be a partaker with them in some of the minor works and labors which your Fathers are accomplishing through these Conversions. And I will greatly esteem it as far as I am concerned if I may know that the Lord is being pleased with the Conversion of souls. This I have learned of the Most High, and I have also heard it from His Holy Angels, who have told me that they envy those who are the Custodians of souls and who are occupied in the work of Conversion. And as they are ministers who present our works to the Most High they assure me that these are the things which most pleases His Divine Majesty, namely, that there should be souls Converted in New Mexico. The Holy Angel explained it to me thus, that as the blood of the Lamb was sufficient for all souls, and that he suffered for one what he suffered for all, that what grieved the Lord most was that a soul, for lack of the light of Our Holy Faith, should perish, for whom He had suffered so great passion and death. This can encourage you in your holy occupation and make you willing to suffer much in order to accomplish it, namely, that all that I have said in my letter and in that of my Father Custos of New Mexico is absolutely true. And under the command of Obedience I have signed it with my own name, and I beg all your Reverences whom I have herein named, that for the sake of the Lord whom we serve and for whose sake I make the declaration, that these secrets be kept hidden and guarded carefully, as the case demands, without their being seen by any other person. From the house of the Most Pure Conception of Agreda, 15th of May, 1631.

SISTER MARIA DE JESUS.

I very much wish, Fathers and Brethren, that I could write in this letter for your greater comfort the many things which I have written, both of my own and of this Holy Mother, through whom our Lord has operated in our favor and assistance in those new conversions, but they are rather to be kept in one's heart than written down, and it seems to me that with the above declarations which are all over her signature and which I have in my possession, your Reverences will be consoled, as you will see that her style and thought are indeed evangelical. I asked her if we were acting wisely in the method of procedure in the Spiritual Work, as well as in the construction of buildings, the planting of fields and the other things which we do for the maintenance and protection of the Indians. She told me that all was very acceptable to our Lord, as it all conduced to the work of Conversion, which is the greatest charity. She has taken it upon herself to commend your Reverences to God and to pray for peace and amity between Governors and religious workers regarding the question of Conversion, and so she commends us all especially to God in order that Friars, Governors, Spaniards and Indians may all of one accord adore and praise the Lord, and above all that the work of giving the Light of our Holy Catholic Faith to all those barbarian nations may be furthered, for His Divine Majesty keeps us in His Holy Work not that we may get in each other's way and prevent the carrying out of His plans by quarrels among ourselves. I also know, Fathers, that in all the time I was there I did not deserve, on account of my imperfections and sins, the joy of the perfect peace which I desired, but I hope from His Divine Grace to go back there to finish my days if He will allow me to do so in the company and service of your Reverences. His Divine Majesty knows well how greatly I desire this. Will not your Reverences commend me to all the Spanish officials and because I have always known the good will which you have for me I will pay you back by manifesting to His Royal Majesty, and to the Royal Council of the Indies that you are his true Apostolic soldiers, both on account of your valor, as well as for the good example which you have set forth in our company, and concerning which His Majesty has been well informed. He promised to grant me every grace which I might ask of him; but the principal thing for which we should consider ourselves most happy is that we have the patronage of the blessed soul of Maria de Jesus. She has seen you and has commended you to God and so I thank you a thousand times and I thank God that you have merited this, and I have said the same thing to the Mother concerning the Christian life and virtue of all the Spaniards, and concerning the humility and care with which the altars are kept clean. And when I told her this she recommended them to our God and I also ask for the prayers of all. To all the Indians I send many kind remembrances as they are deserving of our great affection, and because she is to go out from these nations to others more remote and as to her spiritual children to whom she has preached our Holy Catholic Faith and illumined them while they were in the darkness of idolatry and whom she holds very dear in her memory in order never to forget them in her prayers. Blessed be that land and blessed be those inhabitants that they should merit so great favors from heaven. Your humble son and servant, *Fr. Alonso de Benavides.*

Our Most Reverend Father-General from here grants you all his benediction with that of Our Seraphic Father, San Francisco, because as his true sons you have come to his help in this Apostolic labor, and so he asks me that I write it to your Reverences.

Appendix

Notes to Palou's Text.

NOTE 1.— In praising my sister, I am admiring what belongs to my own family. These facts are not false because they concern my own family; but they are true and for that reason worthy of praise; they are true and justice demands that they be publicly known. We shall praise only those things and pass by in silence only those things that are worthy either of praise or silence. Certainly it is altogether unreasonable that relatives should be deprived of the praise which is their due.

NOTE 2.— One should write for the mind, not for the ears.

NOTE 3.— Conversation ought to be of true purity, or rather, of pure verity, it is simple, and it ought not to be obscured by an artificial shading of colors.

NOTE 4.— As Palou states, Serra was a devout student of the Lives of the Saints. "The books which he read oftenest, and which most attracted his attention, were the Chronicles of our Seraphic Order." Naturally the life of the Founder of the Order would be most familiar to him. Thus he came to know with intimacy and delight the quaint and yet devoted lay-brother of St. Francis, known as Brother Junípero. A striking, singular and unique character he was called the "Jester of the Lord," yet such was his devotion to the poor that he had to be watched constantly lest he give away all the contents of the larder to those who came begging for food. On one occasion he was even caught stripping the golden lace from the cloth of the altar, and when remonstrated with declared his intention to sell it and with the money buy food for the poor. His ready wit and epigrammatic speech also greatly attracted the young Miguel Joseph Serra, and therefore, when he took the Franciscan Vows, he assumed the name "Junípero," by which he was ever after known.

NOTE 5.— "Religious." This is a term well known among Catholics denoting anyone devoted to the religious or conventual life. Any man or woman, having taken religious vows which definitely sets him or her apart for God is a "religious." In French and Spanish the term is common, but in English, though known to Catholisc and scholars, it is not generally understood when used as a noun or substantive.

NOTE 6.— This undoubtedly refers to Father Luis Jayme, whose martyrdom at San Diego is fully described in Chapter XL.

NOTE 7.— Reverend Father Verger, formerly Guardian of the College of San Fernando in the City of Mexico.

NOTE 8.— St. Francis was the Founder and therefore the "Patriarch" of the Order that bears his name. Also see NOTE 4.

NOTE 9.— *Mecate.* The palm from which the fibre for *Mecate* was produced grows wild and is much shorter and coarser than the hemp grown in Yucatan and Manila, from which ordinary rope is made.

Note 10.— *Fanega.* The Fanega is a Spanish unit of measure equal to about 100 lbs.

Note 11.— San Saba, on the Rio San Saba, Texas. A Mission and presidio were established here in 1756–7, for the Conversion of the Lipanes Apaches. March 16, 1758, the Comanches, the hereditary foes of the Apaches, who regarded the Spaniards as allies of their enemies, gained admittance to the Mission, murdered two of the three Missionaries, plundered and set fire to the buildings.

Note 12.— "The Old Mission situated farthest North." It should never be forgotten that, in the words of Arthur W. North, "during their Seventy Years' sojourn in Lower California the Jesuits had * * * founded twenty-three Mission establishments, of which fourteen had proven successful." The northernmost of these was Santa Maria de los Angeles, in latitude thirty-one degrees, or thereabouts. It was no sooner founded than the Order for the Expulsion of the Jesuits was issued. This was the Mission the Inspector-General referred to.

Note 13.— "Twenty-five armored soldiers." These were the "leather-jackets" later referred to. Their armor is thus described by Langsdorff, in his *Voyages*, as seen by him at the Mission and presidio of San Francisco in 1806: "On these occasions [when friars and soldiers went out in search of Indians] the whole party commonly throw over their breast and shoulders a sort of short leathern mantle made of deer-skin. This is intended as a defence against the arrows of the Indians, which cannot pierce through the leather."

Note 14.— Fr. Juan Crespi's Diary. This describes minutely the Expedition under Governor Gaspar de Portola from San Diego north when the Bay of Monterey could not be found, but the Bay that afterwards was known as that of San Francisco was discovered (1769–1770). It is published in Fr. Francisco Palou's *Noticias de la Nueva California*, an octavo edition of which was published in 1874, in San Francisco, by John T. Doyle.

Note 15.— The Lord preserve him.

Note 16.— However, the more tardily the more solemnly.

Note 17.— See Extracts from the letter of Rev. Father Fr. Alonso de Benavides, with which Palou closes his *Life of Serra.*

Note 18.— See the same.

Note 19.— When the Jesuits were expelled from Lower California the Franciscans took their places, the sixteen Missionaries of the former being replaced by sixteen of the latter. But the Dominicans were also desirous of doing missionary work among the Indians of the peninsula, and so petitioned the King, who, on November 4, 1768, issued a decree directing that the Dominicans be given some of the Missions, or that the peninsula be divided between the two Orders. In the meantime the Inspector-General, Don José de Galvez, made a visit of inspection to the peninsula Missions and reported that in his judgment it was unwise and inexpedient to divide the peninsula Missions. The Viceroy agreed with the Inspector-General and so reported to the King, but the zealous Dominicans still insisting, his Majesty issued a further decree, on the strength of which the heads of the two Orders met and agreed that the Franciscans should relinquish to the Dominicans all claim upon the Missions and territory of Lower California, and that they (the Franciscans) were to confine themselves to the New Missions of Alta California. This agreement was ratified and approved by the powers above, and in due time the Franciscans turned the Peninsula Missions over to the Dominicans, and henceforth devoted themselves solely to the establishment and conduct of the new Missions of Alta California.

NOTE 20.— It is too often overlooked by those unfamiliar with the inner history of the Missions that they were, in a great measure, State institutions, provided and cared for by the Spanish Government out of the Pious Fund. The result of the visit of Father Serra to Mexico on this occasion was the clearer definition by the Viceroy of the rights and powers of the Missionaries, etc., and among other things the pledge by the government to pay, for five years, for six body servants for each Mission. These servants were also to work in the fields and thus, by example, teach the Indians how to labor and become civilized.

NOTE 21.— Berrendos means "mottled" or "spotted," hence the appropriateness of the name as applied to antelopes.

NOTE 22.— *Impresion de las Llagas de N. S. Padre S. Francisco.* "Impression of the Wounds of Our Holy Father, St. Francis."

To non-Catholics, who have made no study of the genius of and spirit of the Catholic Church, expressions of this nature are baffling and confusing, while to Catholics they are simple and clear.

St. Francis was so devoted to Jesus Christ, and so longed to be counted as the least of His Disciples, that he craved a part in the sufferings of his Crucified Lord. Thomas of Celano, who wrote a *Life of St. Francis* three years after the death of the Saint, tells how that on Holy Cross Day, Sept. 14th, he had retired to his mountain hut under a beech tree and there remained rapt in prayer. His companions heard him conversing, as it were, with Christ. When the time came for them to go home he was singularly silent, though there was something about him that peculiarly attracted their attention. Fra Illuminato, whose counsel had been resorted to by Francis on several occasions, saw (so San Buenaventura tells us) that something marvellous had happened to his master. "Brother," he said, "not only for thine own sake, but for the sake of others, the Divine Mysteries are made known to thee. And therefore it seems right that thou shouldst not conceal what thou hast heard and seen."

St. Francis accordingly told his brethren that while he prayed there appeared before him "a great figure as of a seraph, which gazed upon him with benign aspect, though it had arms extended and feet conjoined, as if fixed to a cross. It had six wings, two of which were elevated over the head, two extended as if for flight, and the other two veiling the entire body." Another account is slightly different in that the seraph does not itself display the form of a cross, but "carried within its wings the form of a beautiful man crucified, the hands and feet extended as on a cross, showing forth most clearly the image of our Lord Jesus."

The chief point of St. Francis's relation, however, is that while he was seeking to understand the vision and its significance, and while its novelty overwhelmed his heart, *there began to appear in his hands and feet signs of nails such as he had just seen in the holy Crucified One who stood over him.* These are the *Stigmata* or wounds referred to, and devout followers of St. Francis naturally revere the day upon which this marvellous token of Christ's appreciation of the love of his servant took place.

NOTE 23.— *Our Lady of the Angeles of Porciuncula.* This is the city of Southern

California commonly and officially known as *Los Angeles*. The Porciuncula River is now called the Los Angeles River, and the small Spanish settlement of 1769 has grown to a city of 400,000 inhabitants.

NOTE 24.— At last, the more tardily so much the more solemnly.

NOTE 25.— Father Francisco Garcé's was one of the most enterprising, energetic and devoted of St. Francis's heroic band of New Mexican missionaries. His *Life* and the record of the various *Entradas* or expeditions he made for missionary purposes through Sonora, Arizona and California are recounted in the translations of his diary with notes, entitled *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, done by Elliott Coues, and published by Francis P. Harper, of New York. He was one of the first of white men to describe the Flute Dance of the interesting Hopi (Moqui) people, whose Snake Dance is one of the thrilling ceremonies of the pagan world.

NOTE 26.— "Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth laborers into his harvest."

NOTE 27.— First words of the hymn which is invariably sung before Benediction.

NOTE 28.— "The memory of him shall not depart away, and his name shall be in request from generation to generation." (Eccli. cap. 39, verse 13.)

NOTE 29.— *Gente de rason.* A term applied to the Spaniards and other white persons to distinguish them from the Indians. They (the Whites) are "people of reason" while the Indians were considered as acting from native impulses as do the lower animals.

NOTE 30.— "The memory of him shall not depart."

NOTE 31.— "Beloved of God and men."

NOTE 32.— "The just shall be in everlasting remembrance." (Psalm 111, 7.)

NOTE 33.— "But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." (Matt. vi, 3.)

NOTE 34.— "So let your light shine," etc. (Matt. v, 16.)

NOTE 35.— "Burning lights, indeed, we hold in our hands when by good works we show examples of light to our neighbors."

NOTE 36.— "By their fruits you shall know them." (Matt. vii, 20.)

NOTE 37.— The Latin and translation are given in the text.

NOTE 38.— "In order that a virtue be heroic it must effect that he who possesses it works with ease, with promptitude, and with cheerfulness beyond the ordinary from a supernatural motive, with self-denial, and with subjection of his affections."

NOTE 39.— "So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do."

NOTE 40.— Unstinted liberality or mercy towards the needy.

NOTE 41.— This brevity excludes verbosity and obscure passages, also uncommon words that are beyond the grasp of the hearers. It however does not exclude, when expedient, a long speech, since the Lord himself sometimes spoke at length, as is evident from John x, and Matt. v, vi, and vii.

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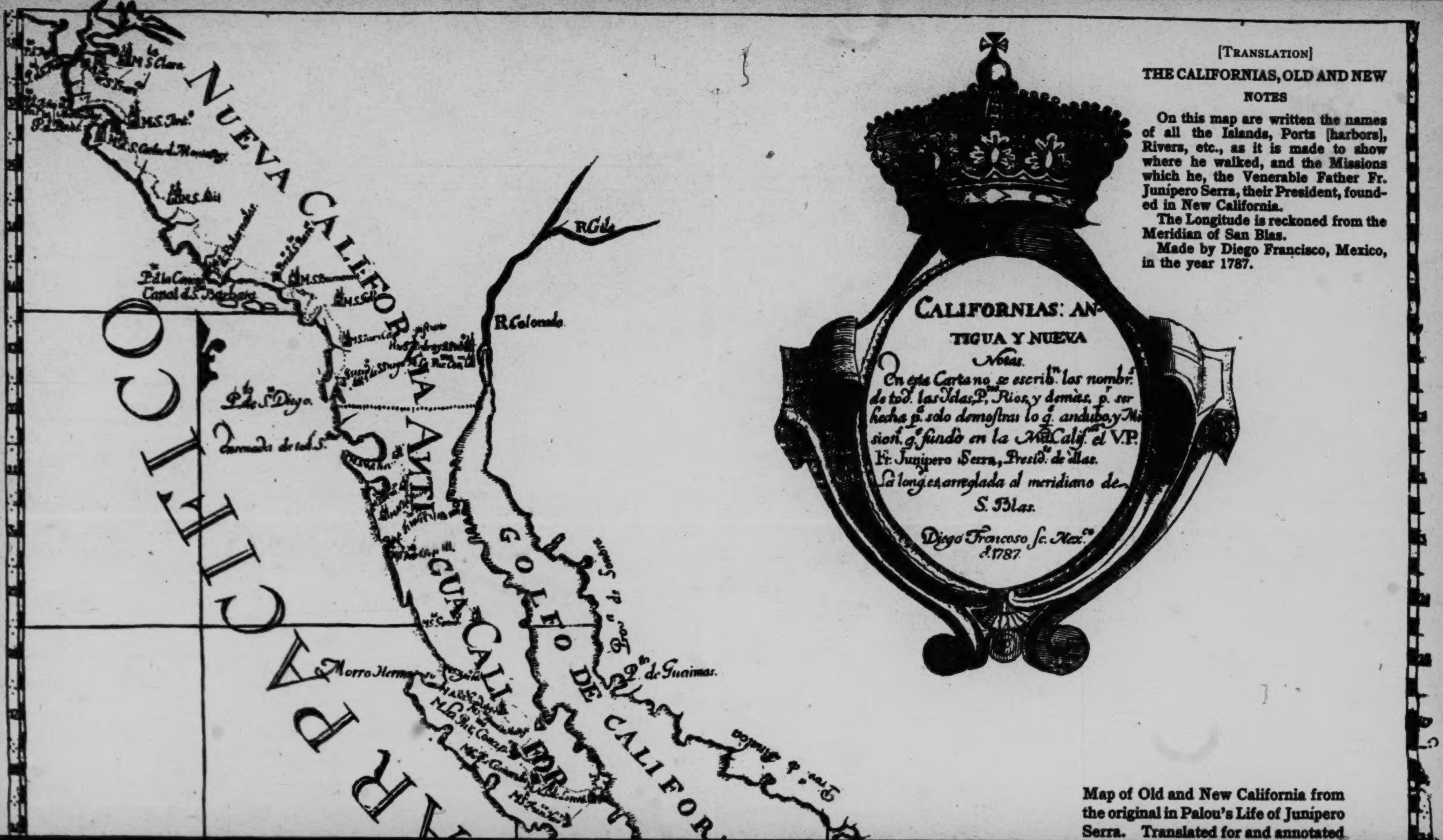
NUEVA CALIFORNIA
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GOLFO DE CALIFOR
R. Gila
R. Colorado
M. S. Clara
M. S. Fran.co
M. S. Ant.o
M. S. Carlos d. Monterey
M. S. Luis
P. d la Conc.n
Canal d. S.ta Barbara
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M. S. Gab.l
M. S. Juan Cap.o
P. de S. Diego
Ensenada de tod. S.tos
Morro Hermoso
P. de Guaimas
CALIFORNIAS: ANTIGUA Y NUEVA
Notas.
En esta Carta no se escrib.n los nombr.s de tod. las Islas, P.tos, Rios, y demas, p.r ser hecha p.a solo demostrar lo q. andubo, y Misiones q. fundò en la N.a Calif.a el V.P. Fr. Junipero Serra, Presid.te de ellas.
La long. es arreglada al meridiano de S. Blas.
Diego Trancoso Sc. Mex.co a. 1787

[TRANSLATION]

THE CALIFORNIAS, OLD AND NEW

NOTES

On this map are written the names of all the Islands, Ports [harbors], Rivers, etc., as it is made to show where he walked, and the Missions which he, the Venerable Father Fr. Junípero Serra, their President, founded in New California.

The Longitude is reckoned from the Meridian of San Blas.

Made by Diego Francisco, Mexico, in the year 1787.

Map of Old and New California from the original in Palou's Life of Junípero Serra. Translated for and annotated

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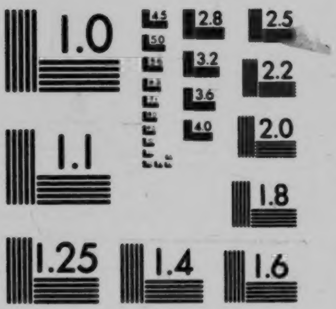
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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

WESTERN
AMERICANA

END

MAR P
CALIFORNIA
NIA
Cabo de S.n Lucas
Long.d al O.te de S.n Blas.
Long.d al Lest.
P.to de S. Bla
Las 3 Marias

Map of Old and New California from the original in Palou's Life of Junipero Serra. Translated for and annotated by George Wharton James, Pasadena, California, 1913.